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Balkan Cooperation Committees Hold Meeting

Malile Receives Delegates

*AU1910101589 Tirana ATA in English
0815 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] Tirana, October 19 (ATA)—The minister for foreign affairs, Reis Malile, received on October 18 afternoon the delegations from Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey, and Yugoslavia taking part in the meeting of the Balkan understanding and cooperation committees and of the other similar non-government organizations.

During the reception, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the minister for foreign affairs, Reis Malile, after wishing welcome and successes, expressed his conviction that this meeting will render its contribution to the further development of cooperation as well as to the strengthening of the spirit of understanding among the peoples and states of the region. The Albanian Government, he said, hails any step made in the interest of peace and security in the Balkans.

The Albanian foreign minister, after speaking on the hitherto Balkan activities and those to be conducted in the future, including also the second meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries which as it is reported will be held in Tirana in the fall of the coming year, expressed the belief that all these will contribute to the strengthening of friendship among the peoples, the broadening of the bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the region.

Present at the reception was also the chairman of the Albanian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, Prof Dhimiter Shuteriqi.

Present were also heads of the diplomatic representations of the Balkan states accredited in Tirana.

ATA Reports Proceedings

*AU1910095889 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 19 Oct 89*

[Text] Tirana, October 19 (ATA)—The meeting of the committees on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and of other similar non-government organisations, which is conducted on the basis of the protocol of the meeting of the foreign deputy ministers of the Balkan countries held on January this year in Tirana, opened in Tirana on October 18.

Taking part in the meeting are the delegation of the Bulgarian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, headed by the chairman of this committee, Boris Velchev; the Greek delegations of the Committee on the World Detente and Peace (EEDYE), headed by Stratis Kounias, vice-chairman of this committee; of the Movement for National Independence, World Peace and Disarmament (KEADEA), headed by Yeoryios Dolanitis, member of the Central Council of this movement; and of the Independent Movement for Peace (AKE), headed by Panayiotis Gallanos, member of the Secretariat of this movement; the delegation of the Romanian Committee on Understanding and Cooperation of the Balkan peoples, headed by the member of its council, Mircea Nicolaescu; the delegation of the Institute of the Foreign Policy of Turkey, headed by the director of this institute Seyfit Tashan; the delegation of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality Among the Peoples, headed by the member of the Presidency, Mirko Ostojic; and the delegation of the Albanian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, headed by the chairman of this committee, Prof Dhimiter Shuteriqi.

Present at the opening sitting was the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, as well as other invitees.

Present were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations of the Balkan countries accredited in Tirana.

The meeting was declared open by Prof Dhimiter Shuteriqi, who was elected also chairman of the meeting, in the capacity of the organising country. After wishing welcome and greeting all the participants of this meeting, he said among others that we are glad to have the occasion to talk together on the efforts made by our organisations and on the coming activities in the interest of the process of Balkan cooperation, strengthening of friendship, peace and security on the region. He expressed the conviction that this meeting inspired by noble aims of understanding and cooperation, will be crowned with success.

The first to take the floor at the plenary sitting was the head of the delegation of the Bulgarian Committee on the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, Boris Velchev, who after thanking the Albanian Committee on the organisation of this meeting spoke of the history of the creation of the organisations in the Balkans, and stressed that with the creation of the new political situation after the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Belgrade, this meeting of the representatives of the Balkan understanding and cooperation committees and of the other non-government organisations, is the first, which we may very well call it our Tirana meeting. According to us, he said, the Tirana meeting should play a stimulating role for the activation of the activity of the committees, organisations and analogue movements, to root in the Balkan social opinion the ideas of the multilateral understanding and cooperation, to turn these ideas into an irreversible process.

Over the last years, the Balkan multilateral cooperation is carried forward. I wanted to stress that, despite the existence of some contradictions and differences among the Balkan states in our peninsula, conditions are created to change degree by degree and in an apparent perspective the situation in the Balkans. In the context of cooperation he proposed that bilateral and multilateral contacts to be reflected in a systematic way, in the mass media, through which the Balkan opinion is informed, that the assembly of the Balkan countries with the participation of the political activists, representatives of the various organisations be held in Sofia. [sentence as received] In this context symposiums and cultural, sports activities, etc., be conducted.

Likewise he proposed that the Balkans be converted into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons and a treaty among the Balkan countries for the preservation of the ecological equilibrium be signed.

In his speech, the representative of the Greek peace delegations AKE, EEDYE, KEADEA, member of the Central Council of the Movement for National Independence, World Peace and Disarmament, George Dalanitis, after greeting on the initiative of the Albanian Committee of Balkan Understanding and Cooperation pointed out that in spite of the mobilization and the struggle of the forces of peace everywhere in the world, in spite of the UN and UNESCO efforts, we could say that mankind is under the threat of nuclear holocaust. Millions of human beings die of starvation, whole peoples suffer from foreign discrimination and many others are in the danger of losing their independence. Demagogy, he stressed among others, has become a way of living where it is played with the idea and the needs of peoples, ensuring tremendous benefits to the strongest of the earth. Insecurity for the future has deepened the crisis of values and institutions, this being a major characteristic of our epoch, thus driving towards the blind alley human-like society. In front of this deadlock, where mankind finds itself, it is necessary to awaken and mobilize the peoples.

Speaking on strengthening the cooperation between Balkan states in the service of peace, he said that this becomes more indispensable now in front of the nuclear arms race and threats of some strategists who decide for the first nuclear attack, now in front of competition in production, trade and purchase of modern conventional armaments, chemical and biological weapons, now in front of the aim of some individuals and groups to rule over the destinies of peoples.

Balkan countries, as permanent grounds of the superpowers' antagonisms, find themselves actually, after a period of deceptive conflicts, thanks to the will of their peoples expressed through concrete governmental initiatives, in a period which for some of them might be considered as the best in their history.

Taking the floor, the chairman of the delegation of the Rumanian Committee of Understanding and Cooperation of the Balkan Peoples, member of the Council of this Committee, Mircea Nicolaescu, said among other things that through joint efforts of our peoples we should make Balkans an area of peace and good neighborliness, without nuclear and chemical arms, without foreign military bases, a model zone of bilateral and multilateral cooperation as part of the cooperation and good understanding in Europe and world. We firmly pronounce for the transformation of the Balkan region in a wide zone of cooperation, for the economic and social development of region's states, for a close friendship among the peoples, in spite of the social system. Balkan states he said further on, should take an active part in the solution of all international issues. In this direction Balkan states are interested in supporting the international relations, the stimulation of the principles of full equality, respecting the independence and sovereignty, of noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit, as a guarantee of the right of every people to organize his own life as he thinks, without pressures and interference. We must direct our attention in the future towards the expansion and intensification of contacts and cooperation in the economic field and that of broader cooperation in the scientific and cultural fields, the expansion and efficient use of the exchanges in the context of the mass organizations, broader links and exchanges among our cities, the conduct of the activities in the context of the friendship associations, etc.

The director of the Institute of the Foreign Policy of Turkey, Seyfit Tashan, stressed in his speech that through common efforts we must increase the contacts and cooperation in various fields. The committees on the Balkan understanding and cooperation should encourage the contacts among the universities, professional organizations, woman and youth associations and various clubs, etc. We wish our partners in the Balkans greater prosperity and the creation of the conditions not to be turned into a "powder keg" of Europe. This could be achieved through cooperation and understanding among the Balkan countries, the aim we have come here for.

He proposed that the chairmen of the committees of Balkan understanding and cooperation and of the other organisations should meet every year to define the fields of cooperation and to suggest to their governments how this cooperation among the countries of the region is promoted.

Likewise these committees should conduct meetings every two years which should be attended by as many participants as possible, so as to broaden the mutual acquaintance and to achieve a greater understanding. We, he said, must evaluate our common past and be more concentrated on its contribution, on our common inheritance.

In his speech, Mirko Ostojic, member of the Presidency of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence and Equality among the Peoples, after greeting the participants and thanking the Albanian Committee on the Balkan Cooperation for the efforts made in the organisation of the first meeting of the social organisations and of the other organisations of the Balkans, said that the very fact that the need of holding such a meeting has emerged and we are here together clearly speaks of the indispensability of the peaceful cooperation in the Balkans, based on the known principles of respect and understanding. Further on he stressed that the regional cooperation has become an irreplaceable form of the multilateral meetings. My country will make all efforts to implement the orientations of its program in service of the building of the good relations among the Balkan countries.

Creating a system of Balkan cooperation in accordance with the lines of the non-government organisations, we will make fresh important efforts. After speaking of the problems of disarmament, he stressed that the political problems we have inherited, as well as those that have emerged during the speedy current development, can be solved only in peace, stability and security. The ideas of cooperation, peace and development of the friendly relations in the Balkans should become a cause of working people and citizens in all our countries.

In his speech, the chairman of the Albanian Committee for the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, Prof Dhimiter Shuteriqi, pointed out that this meeting is a good initiative and a good beginning.

Our organisations of understanding and cooperation, he said among others, exert substantial influence in making relations among the Balkan peoples healthier and public opinion as well as the official one more sensitive towards questions of mutual interest.

Our peoples hailed the cooperation which was initiated with the meeting of foreign ministers of the countries of the Balkans as well as any other official activity that will follow in the future such as the meeting of the foreign ministers due to be held in Tirana in 1990, in its wake for the intensification of political, economic and cultural and other relations. We are certain that it is their legitimate aspiration that this process is consolidated and advanced.

The history of the Balkans is full of such valuable examples of cooperation and friendship. Unfortunately, history also provides examples to the contrary. The Balkans has been called a "powder keg." In fact, we happen to live in a zone with foreign bases and weapons. It stands to reason that without them we shall feel more secure and better at ease, and we will have great understanding and confidence in one another. Therefore, we support all efforts for strengthening the freedom and independence of our countries, for disarmament and peace, for security and stability in the Balkans, which can be achieved with individual and joint actions of the peoples.

Understanding and cooperation among the Balkan peoples assumes particular significance also for Europe and the Mediterranean. Good neighborliness is indispensable. We are of the opinion that support by our organizations of a document of relations of good neighborliness among the states of our region is compatible with our objectives. Good neighborliness is of great mutual benefit.

The peoples of the Balkans, Prof Dhimiter Shuteriqi said further on, have what to exchange among them, and not a few products, experience, technique, and technology. Greater efforts should be made for immediate measures to be taken for the protection of the environment in the Balkans.

The Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation is for the encouragement of multilateral and bilateral contacts in various fields of science and education, the theater and the cinema, arts and sports, etc. The cultural relations of the peoples of the Balkans have created many common features dating from ancient times.

Outstanding writers, artists, and scientists have become part of the world cultural heritage. They cannot be only an object of pride for us, the peoples of the Balkans, but also a factor of mutual acquaintance and respect.

We are for the further development of bilateral and multilateral contacts among our organizations, for the exchange of information and experience, for initiatives for joint activities.

We are also aware that various difficulties exist in the Balkans, which can hinder the process of understanding and cooperation. However, we are convinced that these difficulties can be overcome with goodwill and constant efforts by our countries and public opinion, as well as through a constructive dialogue.

Bringing examples of our common traditions, symbols of rapprochement and understanding among the peoples of the Balkans, he said among others that Naim Frasheri, our national poet, besought us Albanians and called on all the peoples of the Balkans to respect one another and live in good neighborliness. Other outstanding personalities of the Balkan countries have striven for this.

In conclusion, speaking of the traditional friendship, he appealed to the guests and neighbors not to spare the efforts for our noble and human cause of understanding and cooperation among the peoples of the Balkan countries, linked with one another through long centuries.

Thus the proceedings of the plenary sitting wound up.

At the afternoon sitting the floor was taken also by the representative of the Committee on the World Detente and Peace (EEDYE), Stratis Counias, and the representative of the independent movement for peace (AKE), Panajotis Gallanos from Greece, who dwelt upon the need of broadening the cooperation in various fields, among the Balkan countries.

At this sitting it was discussed on the proposals made at the plenary sitting by the representatives of the delegations of the Balkan countries concerning the broadening of the contacts among the various committees and organisations, so that they help and play an important and positive role in strengthening the cooperation of the countries of our region, the strengthening of the good neighborliness and friendship of the peoples, of the spirit of understanding and confidence, peace and security in the Balkans.

In the evening, the delegations participating in the meeting of the committees on the Balkan understanding and cooperation and of the other similar non-government organisations attended a concert given in their honour at the Opera and Ballet Theatre. During the concert, professional and amateur artists interpreted songs, dances, and other Albanian musical parts and of the other peoples of the Balkans.

Meeting Ends

AU2010132389 Tirana ATA in English 0857 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Tirana, October 19 (ATA)—The meeting of the committees of Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations, wound up successfully its proceedings today, October 19.

In the last sitting which opened in the morning at 10.00 hours the participating delegations from the six countries of the Balkans unanimously approved a joint press release.

After the approval of this communique, the floor was taken by representatives of the delegations of Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

After thanking the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation for the welcome and excellent organization of this meeting, they expressed their opinion that it attained its goal and emphasized the readiness of the committees and organizations they represent to materialize the proposals and commitments adopted in this meeting, in promoting the process of Balkan understanding and cooperation in service of peace, security and harmony in our region.

In the closing speech Prof Dhimiter Shuteriqi, head of the Albanian delegation for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation said among others:

I think I am expressing also your opinion and evaluation that all of us came to this meeting with a high sense of responsibility to find the common points in our efforts towards strengthening understanding and cooperation among the peoples and our countries.

I am particularly pleased to emphasize that the spirit of cooperation manifested by all the participants of this meeting made the task of the host country very easy for a successful conclusion of this meeting.

There is no doubt that the ideas and opinions which were expressed here create positive premises to contribute in a concrete manner to carrying ahead the process of Balkan cooperation and the strengthening of the ties of friendship among our peoples.

Wishing everybody every success in attaining the noble goals which our organizations have set themselves towards the strengthening of understanding, cooperation, peace, security in the Balkans, allow me, on behalf of the Albanian delegation, to sincerely thank you once more for your valuable contribution to holding this meeting, which paves the way to our future meetings and fruitful cooperation.

Communique Issued

AU2010134389 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 20 Oct 89

["Press Release of the Meeting of the Committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and Other Similar Non-Governmental Organizations" -ATA Headline]

[Text] Tirana, October 19 (ATA)—On the initiative of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and the recommendation of the first meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries held in Belgrade, the representatives of the committees for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations met in Tirana, from October 18-19, 1989.

The meeting was attended by: the delegation of the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, headed by the chairman of the committee, Boris Velchev; the Greek delegation composed of representatives of the Committee for World Detente and Peace (EEDYE), headed by Stratis Kounias, vice-president; the Movement for National Independence, World Peace and Disarmament (KEADEA), headed by Yeoryious Dolanitis, member of the Central Council; and the Independent Movement for Peace (AKE), headed by Panayiotis Gallanos, member of the Secretariat; the delegation of the Romanian Committee for Understanding and Cooperation of the Balkan Peoples, headed by Mircea Nicolaescu, member of its Council; the delegation of the Institute of Foreign Policy of Turkey, headed by its director, Seyfit Tashan, the delegation of the Yugoslav League for Peace, Independence, and Equality Among Peoples, headed by Mirko Ostojic, member of the Presidency, and the delegation of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, headed by its chairman, Dhimiter Shuteriqi, who was elected chairman of the meeting.

Conveying the sentiments of the broad public opinion of their own countries, the participants in the meeting welcomed the process of Balkan cooperation and stressed the need for its promotion and consolidation.

The participants exchanged views in a constructive atmosphere and expressed their conviction that the activities of the organizations and the establishment of contacts and cooperation among them will serve understanding and the creation of a sound climate in the Balkans.

Proceeding from the vital interests of the peoples of the region, the committees and similar organizations will work for the enhancement of confidence and understanding, for disarmament, the strengthening of peace, security, and stability in the Balkans, which can be attained through individual and concerted actions of its peoples.

To achieve these lofty and noble goals, the participants call on the freedom and peace-loving mass opinion to support Balkan understanding and cooperation, this aspiration of all the peoples of the Balkans, to overcome difficulties and problems through constructive dialogue, so that the ties of friendship, understanding and good neighborliness among the peoples of the region be strengthened.

The participating delegations assessed the importance of and the need for the Balkan peoples' acquaintance with one another's historical, cultural, and artistic assets. The meeting recommends the committees for Understanding and Cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations to cooperate with scientific, cultural, arts, sports and other institutions for holding various activities, such as cultural days, music and film festivals, symposia, seminars, etc., in their own countries and on a Balkan level. It also recommends that friendship manifestations in the border towns, wherever it is possible, and other activities be organized.

The meeting took note of the proposal by the Bulgarian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation to organize a Balkan Assembly with wide participation.

The meeting devoted particular attention to the activities of the participating organizations and their cooperation in the protection of the environment, especially through ecological movements and organizations.

The participating delegations expressed their conviction that the and meeting of the ministers for foreign affairs of the Balkan states to be held in Tirana, next year, will make a positive contribution to carrying forward the process of regional understanding and cooperation. They expressed their support for the idea of drawing up a document concerning the principles of good-neighborliness among the Balkan countries, as an important contribution to the strengthening of mutual confidence and promotion of multilateral and bilateral relations.

To achieve these objectives the meeting concluded that the participating organizations should be in constant contact with one another and hold periodical meetings. The coming meeting of the committees and other similar non-governmental organizations will be held in Athens.

The participants expressed their gratitude to the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation for the way in which their work was conducted and the hospitality extended to them.

Romanian-Albanian Agricultural Talks in Tirana

Miska Receives Romanian Delegation

AU1710210089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of agriculture, received the delegation of the Ministry of Agriculture of the Socialist Republic of Romania led by Costica Leu, secretary at this ministry. The delegation is in Albania to participate in talks concerning the application of the protocol of the first session of the Joint Albanian-Romanian Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation in the field of agriculture.

During the meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on the existing possibilities for a further expansion of cooperation in the field of agriculture between our two countries and in their mutual interest.

A program was signed between the two countries on concrete cooperation projects. The document was signed on the Albanian side by Sulejman Pepa, secretary general of the Ministry of Agriculture, and on the Romanian side by Costica Leu, secretary of state at the Ministry of Agriculture.

During its stay in our country the Romanian delegation had talks at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the General Directorate of Mechanical Engineering. It also visited agricultural centers and cultural, scientific, and research institutions, as well as industrial centers.

Meeting Held

AU1910184189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1722 GMT 19 Oct 89

["Romanian-Albanian Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tirana AGERPRES, 19/10/1989—Pali Miska, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of agriculture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received a delegation of the Romanian Ministry of Agriculture, who are paying a visit to Albania.

During the visit, measures were examined aimed at developing bilateral collaboration in agriculture, in line with the provisions of the protocol of the first session of the Joint Commission of Economic, Industrial and Technical Collaboration Between Romania and Albania.

Farudin Hoxha Leaves for SFRY 17 Oct

AU1710211289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Farudin Hoxha, minister attached to the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, left today for the SFRY, where he will lead the

Albanian delegation at the proceedings of the first session of the Joint Albanian-Yugoslav Commission for Economic, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation.

Alia Receives Palestinian, Yemen Ambassadors

AU1710210489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Ali Kurdi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the State of Palestine, and Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Qawsi,[name as heard] ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Yemen Arab Republic to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented their credentials.

The ceremony was attended by Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Abaz [name indistinct], department director at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and others.

Economic Progress Report for 15-21 Oct

AU2210155489

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 15-21 October carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Fier District: The industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 15 million leks for the period up to 15 October. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Gjirokaster District: The general industrial production plan up to 15 October was exceeded by 8 million leks. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Korce District: The overall industrial production plan up to 15 October was exceeded by 1.6 percent. (1900 GMT 20 Oct 89)

Lushnje District: The industrial production plan was overfulfilled by 2 percent. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Puke District: The industrial production plan up to 15 October was overfulfilled by 2.3 million leks. (1900 GMT 18 Oct 89)

Leaders' Public Appearances for 14-20 Oct

AU2210153289

[Editorial report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 14-20 October reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo members; Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended the final performance of the 6th National Spartakiade in Tirana on 20 October. (1900 GMT 20 Oct 89)

Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Hekuran Isai, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, Kico Mustaqi, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti attended a ceremony on the 81st anniversary of Enver Hoxha's birth at the Martyrs of the Nation Cemetery in Tirana. (1900 GMT 16 Oct 89)

Adil Carcani, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti attended a mass action in a Tirana agricultural cooperative on 15 October. (1900 GMT 15 Oct 89)

Ramiz Alia received the Palestinian and Yemeni ambassadors on 17 October. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Llambi Gegprifti, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District people's Council Executive Committee chairman, received the Mayor of Athens on 16 October. (1900 GMT 16 Oct 89)

Reiz Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received a world health organization official on 16 October. (1900 GMT 16 Oct 89) Malile received the Mayor of Athens on 17 October. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89) Malile received the foreign delegations attending the Tirana meeting of Balkan cooperation on 18 October. (1900 GMT 18 Oct 89)

Rita Marko, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received the Mayor of Athens on 17 December. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89) Rita Marko received the delegations atending the meeting on Balkan cooperation in Tirana on 19 October. (1900 GMT 19 Oct 89)

Pali Miska, AWP CC Politburo member and minister of agriculture received a Romanian agricultural delegation on 17 October. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended the opening of an art exhibition in Tirana on 14 October. (1900 GMT 14 Oct 89)

Kico Mustaqi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Chief of Staff of the People's Army, attended festivities on the 45th anniversary of the People's Army Military Brass Band on 17 October. (1900 GMT 17 Oct 89)

U.S.-Bulgarian Trade Council Ends Session

AU2510184389 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 25 Oct 89

["Bulgaria, USA: For Broader Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 25 (BTA)—As successful and fruitful was assessed the work of the third session of the Bulgarian-U.S. Trade-Economic Council. At today's conclusive session of the forum Mr Konstantin Glavanakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations and chairman of the Bulgarian part of the council, pointed out the businesslike and constructive spirit and the desire for mutual understanding and cooperation. The ever growing tendency toward improvement of the international climate, of the desire toward building of the East-West relations on a constructive and mutually advantageous base, as well as the deep socio-economic changes in Bulgaria are objective preconditions for activation of the economic talk between the two states and for its filling with new forms and content. An expression of Bulgaria's interest in the development of these relations is also the participation of State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov in the first day of the work of the session.

It is stressed in the joint resolution adopted by the session that the changes in the management of the Bulgarian economy, the introduction of the company style and the repealing of the state monopoly on foreign trade open opportunities for mutually beneficial, long-term cooperation in a number of spheres. Special attention is paid to the importance of Decree 56 of Bulgaria's State Council which provides the necessary guarantees for enhanced participation of foreign companies in Bulgaria's economy.

In connection with the improvement of the conditions for investment activity the document recommends a speedy conclusion by the two sides of agreements for avoiding of double taxation and the promotion and protection of investments. The participants in the meeting supported the idea to bring to the attention of the two governments the question for the starting of talks for the granting of the most favoured nation statute in trade.

The Bulgarian side reiterated its interest in the holding of a U.S. technical exhibition on agrobusiness in 1990, as well as an exhibition on information technologies and related services. As a successful form of interaction were assessed the management training courses organized by certain U.S. companies and banks.

Representatives of Bulgarian companies announced plans for certain forthcoming business projects in which they would welcome foreign investments: five new five-star hotels in Sofia; two balneological hotels in Bankya and the Khisarya; a new winter resort in the Pirin Mountains; production facilities for woolen and cotton fabrics.

The two sides agreed to hold the next session in the United States in 1990.

After the completion of the session Mr John Pittas, president of UOP and chairman of the U.S. part of the council, assessed before journalists the forum as very fruitful. He pointed out that he was deeply impressed by the radical changes in Bulgaria's economy. He stressed especially the advance in such important branches as electronics, chemical and biotechnological industry, pharmaceutics. Mr John Pittas assessed as favourable the prospects for the development of the Bulgarian-U.S. Trade and economic relations.

Portuguese Trade Official Meets Lukanov

AU1010213189 Sofia BTA in English 1923 GMT 10 Oct 89

["Portugal Business Week Ends"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, October 10 (BTA)—The business week of Portugal which ended here enabled the Bulgarian business circles to get familiar with the opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation. The roundtable discussion was attended by representatives of 20 Portuguese companies. The businessmen of the two countries reaffirmed their desire for more active diversified contacts. A number of partners have already reached specific agreements.

Mr Miguel Orta e Costa, secretary of state for foreign trade and member of the Portuguese Government, visited Bulgaria for the business week. During his session of talks with Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, it was pointed out that the process of all-round renewal under way in this country influences favourably the further extension of bilateral trade and economic relations. Particular attention was paid to the opportunities to pursue new forms of economic activity such as joint production, joint investment, entry in third countries' markets. Bulgaria's relations with the European Community and her application for membership in GATT were also on the agenda.

Earthquake Reported in Varna; No Casualties

AU2510191089 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] The earthquake that we reported this evening had its epicenter in the region of the town of Vurbitsa, in Varna Oblast. The strength of the tremor at the epicenter was force 5 according to the 12-point Medvedyev-Sponhauer-Karnik scale.

The earthquake was felt by the population in a large area of northeastern Bulgaria with strength of force 4. There are no casualties or material damage.

Academy of Sciences Praised on Anniversary

AU1010093289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Oct 89 pp 1,3

[Interview with Academician Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, by

Dimitur Deliyski: "Changes in Harmony With the Present Day"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The recognition of the remarkable contribution made by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences to Bulgaria's comprehensive development, as well as to our motherland's material and intellectual upsurge, is a well-deserved tribute paid to the selfless efforts of Bulgarian scientists, to their profound and unshakable loyalty which links them with the people's destiny. Throughout its 120 years of existence, our Academy of Sciences has been an indivisible part of our country's most venerable cultural treasures. In our contemporary history, in Bulgaria's present-day development, the mission of our scientists is following specific trends. It is called upon to serve as a champion of revolutionary restructuring in our society. Undoubtedly, the task of restructuring the academy itself is particularly urgent in this period of general restructuring. On the occasion of the forthcoming anniversary of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Dimitur Deliyski, representative of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board, interviewed academician Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, on certain problems related to the development of Bulgarian sciences:

[Deliyski] Academician Sendov, let us begin our interview by mentioning a festive occasion. The 120th anniversary of the Bulgarian Literary Society will be celebrated tomorrow. This society laid down the foundations for the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences—the vanguard of our science and culture. There was quite a long period during which our most ancient scientific institution had the opportunity to establish its own traditions and to determine its own behavior and its role in our society. Can you describe those characteristic features and activities of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences that could be defined as top achievements in the context of our nation's intellectual and ethical development over the period following our liberation from Ottoman domination?

[Sendov] In my opinion, the first of these great achievements was the very fact of the academy's coming into existence. This can be described as an unprecedented event in the history of scientific academies as a whole. The Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was not established by an emperor or a king, and not even by a central government. It was the achievement of an enslaved people who, over many centuries, never abandoned the dream of establishing their own state and who, 9 years before the liberation, created their own academy of sciences. Unfortunately, this fact which so eloquently illustrates the glory of our scientific institution is frequently ignored or underestimated. I think that every Bulgarian should be aware of it and duly appreciate it. Very few people know about another remarkable fact in the history of our academy, namely, that Marin Drinov, the same man who proposed that Sofia should become Bulgaria's capital, was its first chairman. Thus, the fact that Sofia became our country's capital can be attributed to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Only a year later, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences was transferred from Braila to Bulgaria's new capital.

From a mathematical point of view, I would not say that there have been any climaxes in the academy's development because this would also imply periods of decline. To put it more precisely, we should say that our institution is proceeding along a smooth, ascending path of development, which applies both to the growing number of members, as well as to increasingly important achievements in serving the Bulgarian state. [passage omitted]

In other words, the academy has accumulated numerous achievements through which it has accomplished its duty as a protector of Bulgarian national traditions. It has published a history of Bulgaria in several volumes, volume 7 of which has just appeared, and other editions in numerous volumes, such as encyclopedias. I think that the future generations will appreciate the academy for its achievements in the humanities in particular, which, in my opinion, are a manifestation of the high cultural standards characterizing our state. Now that the July Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee has adopted the task of transforming Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized state, the question of the expediency of our academy's existence is very topical.

[Deliyski] Excuse me for interrupting you, but I have never heard anyone pleading for the elimination of the academy. Moreover, to put it precisely, considering the radical structural changes in our country, the academy is perhaps the only structural entity whose existence no one has ever questioned.

[Sendov] Very well. In this case it would be worthwhile to say a few words on this subject. At first glance, the area of natural sciences, mathematics, and technical sciences seems to prevail over the humanities as regards the amount of work and financial resources invested in it, but this is not so. We do not distinguish between the two branches. The field of natural sciences and mathematics will play a very important, humanitarian role in the future because our intense efforts are aimed at protecting the environment rather than changing it. I would like to point out that our academy has devoted great efforts in order to prompt correct decisions in this respect. We have just learned about a discussion going on in the Soviet media about changing the course of great rivers. In the USSR writers, journalists, and public figures protested against this idea. In our country it was the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences that took over this role. A hard struggle was waged by academician Balevski, in particular, against the idea of water regulation and building dams on the Danube. This problem is no longer topical, but let us not forget the contribution of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences to its correct solution. The academy also forecast that 1988-1989 would be a peak year for field mice, a fact which was publicly announced, but not followed by appropriate measures, as a result of which, tremendous financial resources had to be spent for the subsequent elimination of field mice.

Such forecasts by the academy are usually very useful for the national economy but they cannot be expressed in figures. During the last 5-year plan period we tried to prove that the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is a self-supporting institution. [passage omitted] However, it is my conviction that to be a self-supporting organ is by no means the chief goal of the academy. It is expected to accomplish much loftier tasks. The Academy of Sciences as a mere self-supporting organ would not be very useful. Its efforts should be devoted to the country's comprehensive development.

[Deliyski] Have contemporary Bulgarians any reason to suffer from a technical inferiority complex? Can you name any scientists whom a Bulgarian today can compare with representatives of the most advanced nations and unhesitatingly point to them and say: Look at them, are they not Bulgarians?

[Sendov] We have no reason whatsoever to suffer from an inferiority complex, neither as regarding the sciences nor technology. However, we should be aware that everything is based on given traditions and material opportunities. [passage omitted] Let us recall names such as Obreshkov, Chakalov, Kirl Popov, Nadzhakov, and Krustanov. These people were founding fathers of scientific schools in the international world of science. Since we are talking about world scientific schools, I would like to express my views on this subject. People sometimes reproach us by asking where the Bulgarian schools of science are. I positively insist that Bulgarian scientific schools have existed and still exist, but their names are not inscribed on the doors to their offices so that everyone can read them. Scientists, however, know about them!

If we should evaluate science on the basis of its productivity, then let me point out that our scientific work encounters great difficulties because our science is closed within Bulgarian borders because of the difficulties in connection with access to information, because the opportunities for contacts with representatives of the international world of science are still limited, and last but not least, because of the state of our material resources. Economic stagnation is not only determined by a lack of financial resources, but also by the methods of using these resources which are prescribed to us. These methods are a typical example of a bureaucratic approach. The number of Nobel Prize winners in a country is considered the most prestigious criterion for the role of science in that country. [passage omitted] We should admit that the seclusion in which we lived for such a long time has isolated us from the international world of science. [passage omitted]

[Deliyski] From your previous statements it appears that the development of our sciences has not been uneventful but we have no reason to be ashamed of it. As for myself, I do not think that our science is facing peaceful times in the future. This would be in contradiction with its very nature. This is even more topical considering the present circumstances of our society, namely, the stage of revolutionary restructuring! Are you convinced that Bulgarian science has planned its own strategy of restructuring? Can you describe the "tactical operations" in following the strategic goals?

[Sendov] [passage omitted] We are convinced that the academy has accomplished real progress in its restructuring and that it is acting in the spirit of the new requirements. The first step was accomplished along the lines of the democratization processes. Is it possible that we may have advanced too quickly, that we have stepped aside, or that we have acted incorrectly in certain areas? We should clarify some points in this respect, namely, that we cannot simply apply the concept of democratic leadership in its popular sense to the field of sciences. Decisions in the scientific sphere are not adopted by vote; they are the consequences of confirmed results. It happens very often—and even as a rule—that an individual or a small group of people disproves of the views of all the others. If a vote is required those who express outdated ideas will always be right. Democracy should be combined with scientific competence. It is my personal conviction that we have now reached the sensible limit of democratization in connection with the election of leading organs for the academy.

[Deliyski] This is perhaps so because the democratic principle is an established tradition of the academy: Academicians are elected in your institution.

[Sendov] No, this is by no means a manifestation of democracy, because only former academicians are entitled to elect new academicians. This is a selective principle and not a democratic one. The election of directors for academic institutes, on the other hand, is based on democratic principles. The requirement that the elected directors should be confirmed by the Presidium, which is not in contradiction with the Statute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, represents a positive combination of the Presidium's scientific competence with the scientific competence and democratic spirit of the institutes. [passage omitted]

[Deliyski] Excuse me for this specific question, but I think that we have no right to omit it. The national economy is facing a rather difficult choice; it has no other alternative than to engage in a resolute, structural restructuring process. Will academic science find its place in this gigantic process or will it remain in the splendid isolation of its olympic ivory tower, as happens at times? I admit that my question is still a little too vague, and with your permission, I would like to put it more simply: Can you describe the optimal proportion between the fundamental and the practical-applicable orientation of academic science?

[Sendov] We frequently exaggerate in using the term optimal. I think that we should be satisfied with a sensible proportion. [passage omitted]

I think that the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is responding seriously to the practical requirements of our society and to the needs of our industry. We asked the Ministry of Planning and Economy to provide us with a list of specific problems which are awaiting their solution with the assistance of science; in the small-tonnage chemical industry and in electronics, for example. We have remarkable scientific potential in these particular areas. Unfortunately, we have not received any orders so far, although the deadline was 15 September. We submitted long lists of complete research papers, but they did not produce any special results. [passage omitted]

We can say that the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is ready to cooperate, but not to beg for cooperation. It should be sought after and given assistance in connection with providing financial resources. [passage omitted]

[Deliyski] In an interview with RABOTNICHESKO DELO, Minister Stoyan Ovcharov expressed the opinion that under the conditions of company-based production organization much greater material-financial support should be provided for fundamental research work. The companies would be simply and objectively forced to take such action, he said. As a matter of fact, worldwide practical experience suggests a similar conclusion. What is your view on the solution of this problem?

[Sendov] I would be very glad to hear such a statement from a company manager, rather than from a minister. Only when the company managers reach this decision on their own, and not under instruction, can we hope for some improvement. Unfortunately, our companies are beginning to develop. They cannot tie up their budgets and no one could reproach them for not looking at the future as long as they are concerned about their daily tasks and their survival. What Comrade Ovcharov said is true. Companies in advanced countries are investing great resources in fundamental research, but they are firmly established economic units which have successfully coped with the struggle for their existence and are looking far ahead. Let me also mention a problem which our economic legislation has failed to resolve. I expressed our view in my statement at the BCP Central Committee Plenum by suggesting that special tax allowances should be granted to companies who invest in fundamental research or make donations to scientific institutions. For the time being, however, our sciences chiefly rely on the state. [passage omitted]

[Deliyski] Can you point out a scientific achievement, or the name of a Bulgarian scientist, which, in your opinion, will soon earn a worldwide reputation and which we have never heard about?

[Sendov] I could cite a few names but I cannot do this because it would be inappropriate for me to do so. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, we do not create the optimal conditions for systematic and intense scientific work. [passage omitted]

Now, on the eve of the Congress of Culture, Science, and Education, we should engage in an open-minded discussion about the essence of restructuring in the sphere of scientific research. In my opinion, restructuring is not only an economic issue. It is a question of individual restructuring. [passage omitted].

[Deliyski] Academician Sendov, a little over a year has elapsed since you assumed the leadership of the Academy of Sciences. Can you tell us what has given you personal satisfaction during this period and can you point out the things you are dissatisfied with? [passage omitted]

[Sendov] I am satisfied that the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences is seriously pursuing the goal of its further, prosperous development based on the joint efforts of all its members. [passage omitted]

I am dissatisfied with all the rest, and this is a great deal. My dissatisfaction is not related to any external factors, but rather concerns internal and personal opportunities. [passage omitted] I am dissatisfied because we have still failed to prove that the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences can be very useful for Bulgarian society and for Bulgaria—if it has more resources and opportunities to accomplish its tasks. This, however, is not the most important issue. The most important thing is the conviction I share with all my colleagues that we have a mission based on a 120-year-old tradition, which we should worthily pass on to the future generations.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-20 Oct

AU2210155589

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1600 GMT on 13 October through 1600 GMT on 20 October report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Petko Danchev and Andrey Lukanov attended a National Day reception given by the Spanish ambassador in Sofia on 12 October. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Sep 89 p 6)

Grigor Stoichkov gave a reception in Sofia on 16 October for the participants in the CSCE ecological forum, which was also attended by Dimitur Stanishev and Georgi Yordanov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 16 Oct 89)

Georgi Atanasov and Stoyan Ovcharov took part in a Council of Ministers' meeting in Sofia on 18 October to discuss the 1990 draft plan. (Sofia BTA in English 1646 GMT 18 Oct 89)

Georgi Atanasov, with Stoyan Ovcharov attending, received CSSR Deputy Premier Karel Julis in Sofia on 19 October. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Oct 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, received Dr Nedyo Gendzhev, the Bulgarian chief mufti, in Sofia on 13 October. (Sofia BTA in English 1657 GMT 13 Oct 89) In Sofia on 16 October he made a welcoming speech at the opening of the CSCE ecological forum. (Sofia BTA in English 1125 GMT 16 Oct 89) In Sofia on 17 October he received Gerald Hinteregger, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Oct 89) In Sofia on 20 October, Zhivkov received Vyacheslav Khudyayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Komi Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR). (Sofia BTA in English 1320 GMT 20 Oct 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 16 October Komi ASSR Premier Vyacheslav Khudyayev. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Oct 89) In Sofia on 18 October he received the secretary general of the International Electrotechnical Commission. (Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 18 Oct 89)

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, conferred in Sofia on 17 October with a delegation of the All-China Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference led by Ma Wenrui. (Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received USSR State Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko in Sofia on 13 October. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Oct 89 p 6)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the signing of an environmental agreement with the USSR in Sofia on 17 October. (Sofia BTA in English 1400 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a working group from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, which ended its visit on 14 October. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 14 Oct 89)

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a delegation from the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic in Sofia on 11 October. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Oct 89 p 6)

Hungarian Parliament Decisions 'Political Coup'

AU2510082989 Bratislava PRAVDA
in Slovak 23 Oct 89 pp 1,4

[Vojtech Vesely Budapest dispatch: "Political Coup By a Parliamentary Way; A Busy Week for the Hungarian National Assembly"]

[Excerpts] It is only in revolutionary periods that so many fundamental political changes can occur in only a few days as have been registered in Hungary since last Tuesday [17 October], on the basis of decisions approved by the country's National Assembly. It can be said that their content is, in fact, a political coup [prevrat], achieved in a parliamentary way. The Hungarian People's Republic, hitherto socialist by virtue of its political system and economic structure, will be declared at noon today, Monday 23 October, the Hungarian Republic, a country with a bourgeois democratic political system and an economic system based on equality between social and private ownership and free competition between them.

It is remarkable that two thirds of today's members of Parliament were elected in 1985 with the support of what was then the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. Today they have virtually identified themselves, with the exception of a few individuals, with the most far-reaching demands of the opposition and, on some issues, have even gone beyond the intentions of the new Hungarian Socialist Party. It is also a fact that all the important changes concerning the country's political and economic nature were decided without the masses of citizens expressing their stand on them.

Constitutional Amendments

The changes in the Constitution adopted by the present session of parliament are more significant than those that will form part of the future new Constitution. Above all, the country's name is being changed from the Hungarian People's Republic to Hungarian Republic and the clause is being deleted from the second paragraph that it is a socialist state. The codification of the workers class as the leading class of society is being deleted as well. Similarly, the provision is being deleted from the third paragraph that the "Marxist-Leninist party of the workers class is the leading force of society." Instead, the Constitution declares that "the Hungarian Republic is an independent and democratic state based on the rule of law, in which the values of bourgeois democracy and democratic socialism are equally implemented." [factual passage omitted on other provisions of the new Hungarian Constitution]

The Law on Parties

Another so-called law of principle passed by the Hungarian Parliament at its session last week is the law on political parties. Its principles were agreed upon at the so-called tripartite talks between representatives of political forces. The law states that the mission of parties is to establish conditions for the shaping and expression of the will of the people as well as for the participation of citizens in political life. The law recognizes as a political party only an organization with registered members who declare that they will comply with the provisions of this law.

Following extensive polemics, Parliament approved a provision of this law whereby the activity of party organizations at places of work is banned. As is known, the recent Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party decided that the party would leave it up to its primary organizations to determine independently, in line with local conditions, the focus of their activity. However, even deputies for the Hungarian Socialist Party did not take this decision of the party congress into consideration and have virtually banished the party's own primary organizations from enterprises and other places of work. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, Parliament approved a law which provides for the abolition of the Workers' Militia. According to the Government's explanation, this armed corps has lost its function, as a result of political developments in the country. On Saturday [21 October], the first steps were taken to implement the law. At an extraordinary conference of Workers' Militia commanders Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth released Sandor Borbely as their commander. Their weapons will be handed over to the Army and the minister of finance has impounded their assets, which are valued at around 11 billion forints.

Statement Issued on Adamec Egypt Visit

AU2410140089 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 20 Oct 89 p 7

[Text] The Czechoslovak Government has expressed its appreciation for the efforts undertaken by President Husni Mubarak to reach a peaceful and just settlement of the Middle East problem that would restore the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. Both Egypt and Czechoslovakia have also affirmed the importance of convening an international peace conference to find a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem.

In a press statement issued today at the conclusion of Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec's visit to Egypt, both sides affirmed the importance of intensifying efforts to achieve positive results in the disarmament talks and to eliminate all types of weapons of mass destruction. They also expressed their hope that the process of detente in international relations in various parts of the world will continue.

Concerning bilateral relations, the two sides expressed special interest in cooperation in the fields of scientific research and technology. They also noted that economic and trade relations between Egypt and Czechoslovakia are deep-rooted and serve the interests of both countries.

The following is the text of the press statement issued this evening on Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec's visit to Egypt:

At the invitation of Dr 'Atif Sidqi, prime minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Ladislav Adamec, premier of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, paid an official visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt from 17 to 19 October.

Egyptian President Husni Mubarak received Mr Ladislav Adamec, who conveyed an invitation from Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak for a visit to his country.

The Czechoslovak delegation, led by the premier, laid a wreath at the unknown soldier's monument and visited the industrial estate of 10 Ramadan City, the city of Ismailia, the Egyptian museum, and the pyramids.

During their official talks, the Egyptian and Czechoslovak prime ministers exchanged views on the economic conditions in their countries and the efforts to achieve economic and social development for the benefit of their two peoples.

They also discussed in detail the relations between the two friendly countries, which are developing through efforts by and meetings between senior officials from both countries.

The well-established economic and social ties between Egypt and Czechoslovakia serve the interests of both countries.

Czechoslovakia has participated in the development of some Egyptian industries and in the implementation of a number of investment projects, especially in the energy field.

It was noted that ties between the two countries in the fields of culture, education, science, and health are intensive. In this respect, the Egyptian side expressed appreciation for the valuable work undertaken by the Czechoslovak Egyptology institute in archeological discoveries in Egypt.

The two sides showed special interest in cooperation in the field of scientific research and technology.

The exchange of views on the current world situation constituted an important part of the talks. Czechoslovakia and Egypt hold identical views on the weighty and on the need for the detente which has begun to prevail in international relations to continue.

The two sides believe that it is necessary to intensify the efforts to achieve positive results in the disarmament talks and to eliminate all types of weapons of mass destruction.

The Egyptian and Czechoslovak sides stressed the importance of developing the trend toward dialogue and consolidating multilateral cooperation as this creates new opportunities to make the confidence-building process and movement toward peace irreversible.

The urgency of a political solution to all regional conflicts, including the Middle East, which is one of the most pressing, is increasing.

The visit by L. Adamec took place in an atmosphere of common understanding and yielded positive results to expand the scope of contacts at all levels and in all spheres.

At the conclusion of his visit to Egypt, the Czechoslovak premier thanked for the friendly reception and hospitality, amd invited the Egyptian premier to pay an official visit to the CSSR. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Adamec Iraq, Egypt Visit 'Intensifies Relations'

AU2510114489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 7

[Zdenek Porybny commentary: "On the Principle of Mutual Benefit"]

[Text] The visit made by Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, to Iraq and Egypt could not have come at a more suitable moment, although for rather different reasons in both cases. During his visit to the Republic of Iraq, there was a pressing need to find viable ways of continuing in our economic cooperation which is at present unfavorably symbolized by this Arab country's grave financial problems. The country has just gone through many years of crippling war. Today Iraq is so indebted abroad—during L. Adamec's visit, its representatives were talking about $80 billion—that it is obviously not within its powers to pay back all its foreign debts within the designated time limits.

Now that the time for reconstruction has arrived, Iraq is requesting a postponement in paying back its debts as well as further credits for the financial development of its national economy. Czechoslovakia has always belonged among those countries that have tried unselfishly to help developing countries build up their industrial base, modernize their agriculture, and improve the standard of schools and their people's education. Never in the past has it exploited their natural resources or their economic and human potential. However, in some cases an undesirable result of this approach has been difficulty in recovering the credits which is, of course, a problem for a number of creditor countries, and not only for Czechoslovakia.

During the talks, the Iraqi representatives referred to the fact that their country has great, and so far unutilized, natural resources, in particular oil and natural gas, which create the prerequisites for gradually guaranteeing a healthy financial base for bilateral cooperation. As the CSSR premier also mentioned in an interview with Czechoslovak journalists, our country must prospectively see to guaranteeing not only raw materials but also markets for its industry's products. Iraq is one of the countries with whom we have beneficially cooperated in the past and with whom we want to continue to cooperate. The two key words that today steer international commerce are, however, mutual benefit.

This also applies to the same extent in our economic relations with the Arab Republic of Egypt, the other country that L. Adamec visited. In this case, the situation is, naturally, different; this is mainly because Czechoslovak outstanding debts in Egypt are not so great and because Egypt can offer Czechoslovakia not only raw materials—first and foremost, cotton—but also products from its consumer industry which can contribute to the much required enhancement of our domestic market. At the same time, it is a promising market for our own, mainly, engineering industry.

The CSSR premier's visit to two Arab countries, naturally, also had a great international and political significance. In the case of Iraq, this involved the confirmation of the active inter-state relations between both countries. However, prior to Ladislav Adamec, Jozef Lenart made an official visit to Egypt as CSSR premier in 1965. This too long interval has now been ended to the benefit of both countries. Today Egypt is once more recovering the position that belongs to it in the Arab world and its weight on a regional and international scale is increasing. Therefore it was extremely suitable to renew a political dialogue between both countries at the heads of government level.

As Adamec's talks with President Mubarak and Premier Sidqi demonstrated, both countries have concurrent or close views on the main international and political problems. This creates good prerequisites for the development of their political relations into the future.

In both countries and throughout the Arab world, L. Adamec's visit has aroused considerable attention. On the one hand, it is understood here as proof of our country's interest in intensifying mutual relations on the healthy basis of mutually beneficial economic cooperation and, on the other hand, as confirmation of the traditionally good political relations between Czechoslovakia and its Arab partners.

Husak Sends Condolences to PRC on Earthquake

AU2410132889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent to PRC President Yang Shangkun a telegram of condolences in connection with the earthquake that hit his country.

Zajic Delegation Departs for DPRK

LD1810133689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia led by Secretary of the party Central Committee Miroslav Zajic left for the People's Democratic Republic of Korea at the invitation of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee. It will be exchanging views in the implementation of party policy in the agricultural and food complex and will be briefed on forms and methods of work of party organs.

Jakes, Husak Greet Frelimo Chairman on Birthday

AU2410120689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak, have sent a congratulatory telegram to Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] chairman and President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, on his 50th birthday.

Stefanak Ends Argentina Visit, Off to Uruguay

AU2410131389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] Buenos Aires (CTK correspondent)—A delegation of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee headed by Michal Stefanak, head of the CPCZ Central Committee's International Affairs Department, concluded its talks in Argentina yesterday [20 October] and will leave for Uruguay on Saturday [21 October]. In an interview with CTK correspondent in Buenos Aires Michal Stefanak looked favorably at the visit to Argentina and said that conditions have been created for the further expansion of relations between the two countries both in the political and the economic spheres. The talks with Argentine Vice President Eduardo Duhalde were important. These talks affirmed Argentina's interest in the development of bilateral relations with Czechoslovakia.

Janku Meets With U.S. Religious Representatives

AU2410120489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 89 p 7

[CTK report: "The Development of Contacts Between Church Organizations"]

[Text] New York—At a news conference in New York on Thursday [19 October] Vladimir Janku, deputy minister and director of the CSSR Church Affairs Secretariat, described his current visit to the United States as an opportunity to further exchange views and to improve mutual understanding.

V. Janku is in the United States on a week-long visit at the invitation of the ecumenical foundation, Appeal of Conscience, whose delegation headed by Arthur Schneier, the chairman of the foundation, recently visited Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak representative acquainted journalists with the program for his visit, a program in which there are not only numerous meetings with the representatives of various religious organizations but also with officials from the U.S. Administration and Congress, representatives from American society, the mass information media, and ethnic Czechoslovak associations.

At the same time, he replied to a number of questions concerning the current state of church affairs in the CSSR and the preparations for a new constitution and the law on religious freedom in the CSSR.

A. Schneier recalled his visit to Prague and expressed his great satisfaction at its course, especially the opportunities to meet with Czechoslovak political representatives. He described all his meetings as very frank and useful.

Zavadil Addresses Podbrezova TU Gathering 13 Oct

AU1710094889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Oct 89 p 2

[Report by Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Milan Berta on speech by Miroslav Zavadil, member of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, at the festive gathering marking the 45th anniversary of the Podbrezova conference of plant committees and shop stewards' committees, in Podbrezova on 13 October]

[Excerpts] In the opening part of his speech, Miroslav Zavadil recalled the importance of the Podbrezova historical conference of delegates of plant committees and shop stewards' committees in Slovakia, which—proceeding from the objective interests of the working people—laid the foundation stone for the revolutionary unity and the ability for action of the trade union organization. [passage omitted]

Subsequent developments fully affirmed the stances of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH], expressing the support for the program and policy of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] in February 1948 when building the foundations of socialism, as well as in the subsequent years of the construction of socialism.

We proceed from that experience in supporting the social and economic restructuring and the intensification of democratization, and in taking part in the implementation of the program initiated by the CPCZ. **When various "advisers" today accuse the ROH of being "dependent" on the Communist Party, when they reproach us for a lack of independence and for various other sins, they pursue nothing other than diverting the working people from the constructive activity which is aimed at making restructuring a success. From their conduct, it is obvious that their aim is to smash the unity of the trade unions, thus preparing the soil for the disintegration of the social system gained by the working people in the revolutionary struggles against fascism and the bourgeois system. Just as we must not let ourselves be deceived by the demagoguery of hostile forces or let ourselves be forced to retreat, we will not permit any deviation from the objectives of restructuring, because what we pursue is the construction of a socially just society, a society of liberated work, a society in which the workers class, the working people reign.** [passage omitted]

At the national All-Trade Union Conference we declared that we see restructuring as an important feat, which is revolution under new conditions. Our organization supports changes in the economic mechanism in order to make better use of the material-technical base of our economy; in order to make full use of the creative energy and talents of the working people to create resources to meet the needs of the population and for the further development of the economy. We want meeting the needs to be based, above all, on the principle of remuneration according to work done, so that no social group, no work collective could live off the results of another collective, so that a loafer could not live at the expense of a good performer. [passage omitted]

Restructuring pursues the further intensification of socialist democracy by expanding the participation of the working people in administration and management. Like the restructuring of the economic mechanism, the process of democratization also has the support of the majority of the working people and citizens of our republic. This was evidenced by the active participation in the discussions on the draft law on state enterprises, the amendment of the Labor Code, and other legal norms.

On the other hand, we cannot fail to see that the views and the activity of the people are negatively influenced by the slow pace of and the inconsistencies in the implementation of the economic reform, and as regards the creation of conditions for the contentment of the working people.

We also cannot fail to see that many members of our organization, who expended all their energy building socialist society, have been expressing a certain concern in regard to the future development. We must unequivocally stress that in no case will we take the path of disparaging the achieved positive results and abandon the tried and tested principles. We will not retreat from the positions of socialism!

We are suporting the perfection and further consolidation of socialism with all our strength. We are supporting the comprehensive satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of man, his harmonoius development and life in peace. This is our answer to the antisocialist forces and the various groups that are trying to rehabilitate the so-called Prague Spring, which are striving for an anti-February [1948] and for a return to capitalism. [passage omitted]

Central Economic Reform 'Unsatisfactory'

AU2510214989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Oct 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Management Apparatus and Reform"]

[Text] If we so often seek the means for increasing our economy's efficiency in its management, this does not only mean that we do so in the management mechanism itself, in its individual rules, or in its structure. The criticism also concerns the management apparatus, that is, the people who deal with these rules and who put them into practice. If the management mechanism is now changing, it is inevitable that the management apparatus must also change.

Recently, the status and role of the managerial elements has often been discussed. General dissatisfaction with the standard of management sometimes descends only on the head of the manager and conclusions are hurriedly drawn that perhaps the best apparatus is no apparatus at all. In many places, the most important aim of the restructuring of the management apparatus is being formulated from the measures to reduce the number of employees in the central organs and in the middle tier of management. It is as if whoever has reduced the prescribed numbers has dealt with all of the requirements. However, such views are rather over simplified, even short-sighted. A step was taken toward the restructuring of the center and its style of work by reducing the apparatus, but this is far from enough. The purpose of all of the changes is not only to limit the apparatus but, first and foremost, to increase its efficiency. The low efficiency of labor is the greatest burden for the professional teams of managers at all levels.

How can their work be improved? First and foremost, in their activity they must make use of completely new instruments. By using the system of management which envisages that it is possible to run the whole of the national economy like one giant workshop, in which what everyone has to make and how they have to make it is precisely determined, as well as to whom the products are to be supplied, it is impossible, understandably, even with the best of wills, to manage modern production. Therefore, the quality of the managerial work will be directly proportionate to how the apparatuses in the ministries and enterprises come to terms with completely new management instruments, the instruments that the restructuring of the economic mechanism establishes.

It is impossible to conceal the fact that one of the most complicated tasks of economic reform is involved here. At the very beginning of restructuring, it was made clear that the competence of individual managerial elements is significantly changing. In the future, the center is to pay more attention to the long-term view, it will not interfere in the enterprises' operative affairs, and it will give them scope for independence. On the other hand, it will create the necessary balance in the economy and will struggle against undesirable monopolistic tendencies. The enterprises must see to their long-term prospects themselves within the framework of the designated conditions which will provide them with great scope. That is, it is impossible to rely on any kind of whimpering to the central authorities or any clamoring for subsidies, levies, and so on.

Such a division of authority is comprehensible and logical; it contains new authority but also new responsibility. However, what has unfortunately happened in many cases? The departments and other central organs have gladly gotten rid of the day-to-day tasks, however, the enterprises have still not achieved independence, and, finally, the conditions for this have not even been established. The economic imbalance persists, suppliers have a continuing preponderance over consumers, and the scope for abusing monopolistic positions has not been thoroughly restricted. Thus, in the relationship between two managerial levels a vacuum has evolved in competency and in responsibility, a vacuum which few people like to acknowledge.

This was confirmed by the recent investigations into under utilized investments. The departments claimed that they have nothing to do with individual projects and that the enterprises should take care of it themselves. In turn, the enterprises are not used to dealing with investments. Up until now, they only cared about one thing: trying to get them into the plan. A similar situation prevailed in supplier-customer relations. In this area the center often abandons its responsibilities and claims that it does not have the instruments with which it could be compelled into fulfilling supplies. On the other hand, the enterprises demand that they be able to do what they want with their own products, that is, even export them, but they want the center to guarantee them the components for production. In short, so far both levels of management have not found a path toward each other, nor have they become used to the new competence. Everyone takes out of the new system only what suits him, but continues to forget his responsibility. This is the management apparatus' greatest debt to restructuring.

A similar situation involving a complicated and painful transformation is to be found at the management apparatus level in individual organizations, where attention has been focused on the changes to the management of enterprises from the center. This is certainly correct. The enterprises must know what limits the new mechanism places on their activity. At the same time, intra- enterprise management, without exception, remains unchanged, including the inflexible systems of material stimulation, intra- enterprise economic accountability, and so on. However, if the enterprises are to be completely differently managed from the center, this means that the working collectives within the enterprises must also be managed completely differently. Unfortunately, the management apparatuses display very little resourcefulness in this area, thus, the employees only rarely feel that production is really any better organized.

Mixed feelings have also arisen out of the ambiguity concerning how the professional managerial teams and the self-management organs will operate side by side. Again an unhealthy dividing line in competencies and responsibilities is threatening. The purpose of economic reform and the application of self-management resulting from this is the involvement of the widest range of people possible in management. This, however, does not mean that anyone has taken responsibility away from the professional managers, that they should wait and see what the self-management organs will decide, and that they should only passively carry out their responsibilities. From the professional point of view, they are better prepared for management because greater stimuli for improving the quality of management are expected from them. It is certainly important that the self-management organs educate themselves so that they are capable of realistically participating in management, but it is also in the interest of the enterprises that these self-management organs see to it, first and foremost, that the managerial apparatus are professionally educated, the apparatuses whose activity is specific and, in many ways, irreplaceable.

At present, considerable responsibility for the success of restructuring lies with the managerial staff. We criticize it deservedly and we praise it deservedly. Indiscriminately condemning the apparatus and blaming it for all of the failures is unjust and does not contribute to the matter. We will not achieve prosperity without quality work from the management apparatus.

Adamec on Relations With Austria, Restructuring

AU2410145389 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 24 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with CSSR Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec by unidentified reporter: "Dissatisfaction Is Sound"—date and place not given]

[Text] VOLKSSTIMME: Mr. Prime Minister, many observers agree that the present level of CSSR-Austrian relations—both in the political and in the economic areas—does not fully exhaust existing possibilities. What do you think?

Adamec: If we talk about setting up the common European home, every dissatisfaction with the level of our relations can only be sound. However, it is important to see the tendency of developments, and there is no doubt that these developments lead to the intensification of our contacts. A constructive political dialogue is developing which includes regular contacts between the two countries' governments. The contractual basis of our relations is also broadening. At present, about 60 bilateral agreements are in force, and more are being prepared. We assess the increase in tourism very highly, which contributes to our two peoples getting to know each other. In the scope of this people's diplomacy, more than 300,000 Austrian citizens visited our country, for instance, and almost 150,000 tourists from the CSSR visited Austria. In this respect, the material and legal conditions are being created by our side to make sure that this exchange will increase even more dynamically.

VOLKSSTIMME: What is the situation in the economic area?

Adamec: Regarding our economic relations, Austria is today holding fifth place among the CSSR's foreign trade partners, and is ranking even second among the Western countries—after the FRG. Of course, we assess an economic partner such as Austria very highly. As far as the possible further development of our economic relations is concerned, I personally see reserves above all in systematically broadening production cooperation, in founding joint ventures, and in cooperating on third markets.

VOLKSSTIMME: Will your negotiations in Vienna be primarily focused on individual aspects of economic cooperation between the CSSR and Austria?

Adamec: We consider Austria a reliable economic partner. Our cooperation has convinced us that the Austrian firms have the most modern technologies, top technologies, well-trained managers and experts, as well as an extremely qualified and diligent labor potential. It could be useful for both sides to further deepen cooperation on this basis in the areas of the chemical industry, the paper industry, the consumer goods industry, and the engineering industry.

We would like to change the structure of our exports, and would like to export finished products instead of raw materials. In addition, we would welcome it if Austria were to eliminate some of the obstacles hindering our trade exchange, obstacles that we are confronted with in the tariff and nontariff areas.

New Legal Basis

VOLKSSTIMME: In the CSSR, many changes are taking place now in the economy and in the life of society, which have also an influence on your relations with other countries. What new opportunities could this restructuring bring Austria?

Adamec: Restructuring in the CSSR is a complicated and interrelated process. It includes also intensive legislative activities in the scope of which our Parliament adopted the law on state enterprises, the law on enterprises with foreign capital investments, and the law on economic relations with other countries. In this way, a new legal basis for our foreign relations has been created which represent an extremely important condition for economic growth in such small countries such as Austria or the CSSR. In other words, now we have new laws that allow the CSSR to integrate more closely into international cooperation. The point now is to give these laws a real meaning. I think that cooperation with Austria could now become one of the instruments to implement such projects. I said already that in addition to goods exchange, we also intend to encourage the modern forms of integration in cooperation with Austria. We would like to conclude an investment protection agreement with Austria. Such an agreement would certainly be another impetus to the development of existing economic cooperation.

VOLKSSTIMME: What do you expect of your first visit as prime minister to Austria?

Adamec: I think that my negotiations with Chancellor Vranitzky and my talks with other Austrian representatives are the continuation of active political dialogue and cooperation between our countries. I think that we will succeed in taking stock of our bilateral relations in all areas in a businesslike and constructive way. In addition, further possibilities of cooperation, above all, in the economic area, will be defined. I expect our exchange of views with the highest Austrian representatives to also deal with the crucial problems of the international situation, in particular developments in Europe in connection with the development of East- West relations. Thus my visit is also an element of an active European dialogue and our joint contribution to the deepening of the positive trends in the world.

Dubcek Urges Official Reappraisal of 1968

PM1710153489 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
3 Sep 89 p 11

[Article by Alexander Dubcek, former general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia: "Czechoslovak Apartheid"]

[Text] A few days ago it was the 21st anniversary of the military intervention by five Warsaw Pact countries against the process of renewal of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] and Czechoslovak society. As will be recalled, I dealt with that event chiefly and at length in the interview that L'UNITA published 10 January 1988.

What happened in 1968 remains a permanent cause of tension in our country, partly because the present CPCZ leadership and some of the interventionist countries still refuse to reexamine that action, to consider it harmful, unjust, mistaken, and illegal—an act whose consequences had a profound effect both internally and internationally. It was inevitable that that tension would manifest itself again this year—precisely on the 21st anniversary of the military intervention. Nevertheless it is not only apparent on anniversaries but pervades the whole of the past 2 decades and is increasing in intensity because of the pressure that prevents the exercise of glasnost and the right to the truth. This is contributed to, and is in fact fostered, also by the stubbornness of the present party and state leadership, which adheres to the stances defined in the 1970 document, "Lessons to be learned from the crisis...." This is apparent from the official political press and even from the latest internal party documents which state, among other things, with regard to me and Oldrich Cernik (then prime minister) and the letter which we sent to the five communist parties and governments of the interventionist countries: "The distortion of the historical facts about the troops' entry into Czechoslovakia on 21 August 1968 has a precise objective: to build a springboard in order to go as far as to assert the idea that the troops' entry should be defined as a political error, an illegal and unconstitutional act that resulted in the interruption of the process of social changes and the start of stagnation in our society." This portrayal of the facts requires no comment. Just one observation: The attitude clearly reveals what the present Czechoslovak restructuring is designed to defend.

But now I must return to the meeting held 3 August 1968 in Bratislava by representatives of six governments and communist parties. I considered then, and I still consider, the conclusions of that meeting positive and fruitful, because they represented progress beyond the "Letter" that the "five" sent us from Warsaw in mid-July. The "Declaration" signed in Bratislava stated among other things that mutual cooperation will be developed "on the basis of the principles of equal rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, territorial inviolability, cooperation, and fraternal solidarity." Is it still necessary now to prove that that which the present party and state leadership advocates conflicts with that document? The documents of the Czechoslovak constitutional institutions of that time, past practice, and the citizens' current conduct provide a unanimous reply: What happened in 1968 was a violation of international law and of the document signed in Bratislava. This is why the Czechoslovak citizens who adopt this stance must not be persecuted.

The apologists of the military intervention—at least according to internal party documents—would like to hide behind another passage in the Bratislava document, which states among other things: "The support, defense, and consolidation of these (socialist, understood) gains are an international duty shared by all socialist countries." Any first-year student of law is well aware that this does not authorize a group of countries to intervene militarily against another signatory of the document without the knowledge and approval of the latter's constitutional institutions. It is still less legitimate to ignore the subsequent passage in the document in question, which recognizes the principles of noninterference and inviolability of borders and of the sovereignty of each country represented at that meeting.

At this juncture I must point out that the Hungarian press, on the occasion of an interview with Janos Kadar, disclosed that a "letter of intent" was conveyed secretly by Vasil Bilak and Brezhnev, on behalf of 18 signatories, on 3 August 1968 on the occasion of the Bratislava meeting. This disclosure too (which was news to us) testifies to the illegality of the "invitation" and of the decision taken by the top representatives of the five governments and communist parties to send their armies to halt the Czechoslovak rebirth movement and to change—as did indeed happen as a consequence of the intervention—the new official policy of the rebirth of socialism supported by the people and approved by the government and parliament.

Let the reader now judge the following phrase contained in the official report to CPCZ members in connection with the letter that Cernik and I sent to the five interventionist countries: "The authors of the letter (that is, Dubcek and Cernik) attack and decry the fact that the armies' intervention in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was made possible." Now, 21 years on, and after all the experiences we have had, the CPCZ Central Committee protects the anonymous incompetents who "invited" the five countries' troops into Czechoslovakia! In this Central Committee's opinion only the country's constitutional representatives in 1968 and the current civil initiative groups can be attacked and accused.

Be that as it may, the existence of a "letter of invitation" signed by a small group of individuals, as reported in the Hungarian press, does not provide a specific and legal justification for the five countries that carried out the military intervention. However, those who have held this opinion, those who for the past 20 years have pointed out the disastrous results of that tragic event, have fallen into disgrace.

For my part, I did so in the letters sent during preparations for the 1975 international communist parties conference. And, before tat, in letters to the Federal Parliament and the Slovak National Council in 1974. I did so in the aforementioned interview to L'UNITA and again last June in the letter in which, together with Cernik, I addressed the Central Committees and governments of the five interventionist countries, requesting a reappraisal of their 1968 decision to intervene militarily.

We have not yet published this letter. We believe that the Central Committees and governments of the recipient countries would like to deal with it "through internal channels" for the present. Be that as it may, we can consider the initial replies positive—especially the stance adopted by official Hungarian party and state representatives and by that country's democratic organizations. And also that of Poland, where the Sejm, on Adam Michnik's initiative, spoke out against the 1968 military intervention. Furthermore we issue a positive assessment of a number of items published by the Soviet press, in which individual citizens have distanced themselves from that illegal and tragic intervention.

Unfortunately the official Czechoslovak attitude is still based on the old verdict on 1968, despite the over 20 years of disastrous effects due to the deliberately false "Lessons to be learned from the crisis..." of 1970 and to the policy of "normalization." This is the origin of the charges—of being "opponents of socialism" and of the present restructuring—leveled by the government and its propaganda at those who supported the "CPCZ Action Program" and opposed the military intervention and who have not changed their ideas and it is also the origin of the charges now leveled at the various citizens' initiatives. This is the root of the tension that exists in a society that has known and directly experienced the truth and does not intend to adapt to pressure from the authorities. Readers are well aware against whom and what the attacks have ben conducted. And there is no need now even to show how unfounded they were.

For this very reason it is sad to read now in official statements from Prague the reproach addressed to the Hungarians and Poles, as though they wanted to interfere in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs. Let us examine this matter. For my part, I must reject such conduct: The Czechoslovak public welcomes our neighbors' new stances. I see in them the road to strengthening our mutual good-neighbor relations. The Prague authorities'protests are unfounded. By acting as they do, Hungary and Poland are distancing themselves from their own military intervention in Czechoslovakia and describing the decision taken by their countries' representatives in August 1968 as mistaken. From this viewpoint, the Czechoslovak attempt to prevent the two countries' reappraisal of a particular period in their history—which they are doing by refusing to support the involvement in the stifling of the rebirth of socialism in our country—is an interference in Hungarian and Polish internal affairs.

The Czechoslovak authorities' present stance and the violence used on the 21 August anniversary give the impression that certain official circles are nurturing this state of crisis in pursuit of personal interests, so the tension serves to preserve obsolete stereotypes and forms of conduct.

How else can we interpret CPCZ General Secretary Milos Jakes' remarks from the rostrum from which he was celebrating the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national rising: "The restructuring and democratization program depends on whoever intends to contribute loyally to this great endeavor. There are no limitations on participation"? What can we say, in the knowledge that in the past 12 years and in the 5 years since the start of the Soviet perestroyka no way has been found of conducting a dialogue with the half-a-million reform-oriented communists who now represent the "party of the expellees"? Where is the road to a rapprochement with those who have socialist ideals, to the Rebirth Club, and to the other citizens initiative groups—from Charter 77 to the religious movements—established precisely as a result of the 20-year-old policy of "normalization"?

The warning issued by Communist Party of Slovakia General Secretary Ignac Janak from that same rostrum, again on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak national rising, is enlightening in this regard: "As social democracy grows, so too does the activity of the forces whose political orientation lies outside socialism." It is simply logical that not everyone, not every singal individual, will be in favor of socialism. Especially following the well-known distortions. The argument, however, is on the subject: what kind of socialism? For me, that which stems from the original humanistic ideals, which truly constitutes "people's government." Who and what, then, lie "outside socialism"? For whom are there no limitations on contributing to the restructuring process?

Here is my reply: The category of "limitees," that is, those who lie "outside socialism," includes many people, from the former CPCZ general secretary and prime minister of 1968 to the Rebirth socialist group and other citizens initiative groups and movements. In other words, all those who have rejected the military intervention, the elimination of the 1968 "CPCZ Action Program," the 20-year policy of "normalization," and the false "Lessons..." How else could it have happened that a vast number of intellectuals of our two developed nations cannot work in their own fields and are the target of a Czechoslovak-style apartheid? How else could it have happened that Milan Hubl, former rector of the higher political school and CPCZ Central Committee member in 1968, was imprisoned for 5 years and that other former party leaders and other representatives of citizens initiative groups have been imprisoned and sentenced like him? How else could it have happened that, as I write, Professor Miroslav Kusy—CPCZ department chef and Central Committee member under Gustav Husak's secretaryship—is in preventive detention, as are other critics of recent developments and of the present situation? Furthermore, what explanation is there for the fact that it is impossible to conduct a dialogue with Milos Hajek, sentenced to death during the Nazi occupation, in 1968 director of the Institute of the History of Socialism, and now chairman of the Rebirth Club for socialist restructuring? And again, how could it have happened that almost the entire CPCZ Central Committee of 1968, the government, very many National Assembly deputies, and pro-reform representatives of other political parties of the National Front and of the trade unions and youth and cultural organizations have now fallen into disgrace? How could it have happened that the economic reform has been rejected, that scientists and professors such as Ota Sik, Vladimir Kadlec, Koctuch, Pavlenda, and Silhan have lost their jobs, and that they and many others have been unable to make their knowledge available, in a healthy dialogue, for further work for the sake of economic reform and its implementation? How could it have happened that the draft law on enterprises—and not only this—was left on the "normalization shelf" for 20 years?

Many representatives of reformist socialism have been portrayed as enemies of socialism and are now blacklisted as opponents of restructuring. Others have had to leave their native country for various reasons. This all representats too great a loss, which our two small nations cannot allow themselves. Looking at the recent past and the present from this viewpoint, I hail certain new stances expressed for instance in Moscow's IZVESTIYA by Czechoslovak Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec.

Before ending, I would like again to put forward what I think about the now long-term crisis of socialist ideas and existing practice in the countries that took the path of socialism,. Within this framework I would like to indicate one of the reasons for the external military intervention carried out against Czechoslovakia 21 years ago. First, it must be said that there were, and still are, two tendencies at play: the reform movement, characterized by the attack on Khrushchev and Stalinism, and the dominant tendency of the era of Brezhnev and the ideologue, Suslov—a conservative and antireformist tendency that characterized neo-Stalinism and the return to stereotypes. This process is rooted in Lenin's new gains as expressed in the New Economic Policy. Palmiro Togliatti's formulations embodied in the Yalta Memorandum are still part of the former tendency. A key factor in all this was the 20th CPSU Congress. In this context it is possible to perceive which tendency and which political forces supported the military intervention and subsequently established themselves thanks to it. It is absolutely clear: That intervention served to back the retrograde-dogmatic tendency, the stereotypes then dominant in the interventionist countries. This was the the "Action Program" was abrogated, the economic reform canceled, and the democratization process within the CPCZ and Czechoslovak society halted.

Thus 20 years of stagnation and regression have exacerbated the crisis of socialism and inflicted incalculable moral and material losses on it. Hence stems the present complexity and the difficulties encountered by restructuring in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, and elsewhere. This complexity and these difficulties are not a product of restructuring but a consequence of the relapses, distortions, and abuses of the period behind us. They are also a reflection of the divorce from a life that has meanwhile changed in Europe and worldwide.

As a former leader and as a supporter of reformist socialism, I would also like to say that, despite all I have said—and not said—hitherto, I do not consider reasonable extremist attitudes that entail a platform based on anticommunism and prejudiced anti-Sovietism and that ignore the reformist socialist tendencies that we are witnessing and taking part in. Even the western capitalist world experienced a lengthy period of reforms before assuming the appearance with which we are now familiar. Looking at the present socialist reform movement, we should avoid repeating—in another form—the error made by our classic writers, who denied the possibility of a reformed development of capitalism. Planned antisocialism proceeding from extremist stances results in confrontation and therefore does not serve mankind's needs. The coexistence of different systems, in the presence of a reform movement, can and should lead to rapprochement between the peoples and states and—if it is so desires—also between systems. This can happen when both sides proceed from that which unites this planet's nations, states, and peoples, not that which divides them. So let us work for the sake of all mankind on this our shared—and , for the present, our only—planet, called Earth.

Leaders' Appearances for 12-18 Oct

AU2510142989

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 13 to 19 October report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourcelines given in parentheses):

Milos Jakes accompanied by Gustav Husak, Ladislav Adamec, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Pavel Hrivnak, Karel Hoffmann, Alois Indra, Ignac Janak, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, Karel Urbanek, and Miroslav Zavadil attended both days of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee plenum, held in Prague on 11 and 12 October. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Oct 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes and Gustav Husak, in the presence of Milan Vaclavik, received Nikolay Zotov, the new Warsaw Pact representative in Czechoslovakia, in Prague on 13 October. (RUDE PRAVO 14 Oct 89 p 1)

Miroslav Zavadil, in the presence of Ignac Janak, made a speech at a ceremony marking the 45th anniversary of the trade union conference in Podbrezova, on 13 October. (PRAVDA 14 Oct 89 pp 1,2)

Milos Jakes, accompanied by Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Jaromir Johanes, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek, attended the opening of the Days of Moscow in Prague festival on 16 October. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Oct 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jozef Lenart, received the Yugoslav ambassador prior to his departure from Prague, on 16 October. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Oct 89 p 1)

Miroslav Zajic and Vladimir Herman presented letters at an award ceremony in Bratislava on 16 October. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Oct 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, Ignac Janak, and Ivan Knotek attended a Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee session in Bratislava on 16 October. (PRAVDA 17 Oct 89 p 1)

Gustav Husak, in the presence of Jaromir Johanes, received the credentials of the new ambassadors from Turkey, Algeria, and Bangladesh in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 1)

Milos Jakes, in the presence of Alois Indra, received a Zimbabwe parliamentary delegation in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak and Pavel Hrivnak attended a Slovak National Council session in Bratislava on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 1)

Milan Vaclavik, in the presence of Jozef Lenart, addressed a meeting of CSSR Army commanders, in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Jan Fojtik and Miroslav Stepan chaired a joint meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee Ideological and Cultural Commissions, in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek were present at an award ceremony for Yasir 'Arafat in Prague on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct 89 pp 1,2)

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received the executive secretary of the Cuban Atomic Energy Commission, in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 1)

Josef Haman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, attended a United Agricultural Cooperative district meeting in Kutna Hora on 14 October. (PRAVDA 16 Oct 89 p 1)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, attended a party organization meeting in Vodochody on 16 October. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Oct 89 p 2) He attended an East Slovak regional party meeting on scientific-technical development, in Kosice on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct 89 p 3)

Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received a study delegation from the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Socialist Republic premier, attended a United Agricultural Cooperative district conference in Topolcany on 14 October. (PRAVDA 16 Oct 89 p 1) He attended the second day of the Slovak National Council session in Bratislava on 18 October. (PRAVDA 19 Oct 89 p 1)

Alois Indra, chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, received the Yugoslav ambassador prior to his departure, in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, attended a United Agricultural Cooperative district conference in Senica on 14 October. (PRAVDA 16 Oct 89 p 1) He received the president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2) He attended the annual members' meeting of the party organization in the Tusimice power station in the Chomutov district on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Jozef Lenart, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received Alenu Abebe, member of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Ethiopian Council of Ministers, in Prague on 12 October. (RUDE PRAVO 13 Oct 89 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, accompanied Lev Zaykov during the last day of his visit to Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 1) He met with Prague theatrical artists on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct 89 p 5)

Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, attended an aktiv of light and chemical industry workers in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2) He presented a letter to a bus driver who traveled 3 million km without an accident, in Uherske Hradiste on 18 October. (RUDE PRAVO 19 Oct 89 p 3)

Miroslav Zajic, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, presented a letter to the chairman of a cooperative farm on the occasion of his birthday, in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, attended a party primary organization meeting in Sezimovo Usti on 16 October. (RUDE PRAVO 17 Oct 89 p 2) He received the daughter of Antonin Zapotocky, the former trade union chief and president, who presented him with manuscripts from her father's archive, in Prague on 17 October. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Oct 89 p 1)

New Demonstrations Occur in Several Cities

20,000 in Neubrandenburg

LD2510211589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2013 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Neubrandenburg (ADN)—After peace prayers at St. John's Church in Neubrandenburg this evening, a "March of Hope" formed to Karl-Marx-Platz in the center of the bezirk [area] city, where some 20,000 people gathered. Citizens of various views spoke and stimulated a constructive exchange of opinions. They agreed on the demand to continue the dialogue started in a businesslike manner, openly and trustingly, and not to exclude any problem from it.

Mayor Dr Heinz Hahn stated that a dialogue which was meant seriously by all sides would not be set in motion if it started with a vote of no confidence from whatever side, if it assigned blame at the start, and called the acceptability and competence of the other partner into question.

The mayor announced that next Saturday, 28 October, two rounds of discussions will take place in the city, which will be followed by others. Johannes Chemnitzer, first secretary of the socialist unity party of Germany Bezirk Executive, said all those who wanted to improve their socialist state understood the need of the hour, understanding one another and acting productively. He asked them to stop seeking solutions in demonstrations. "We particularly respect the considered advice of the city's churches to maintain law and order, and in the spirit of Regional Bishop Werner Leich, to replace demonstrations on the street by an open and genuine dialogue."

5,000 in Jena

LD2510223589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2154 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Jena (ADN)—After a service of intercession at St Michael's Church in Jena this evening, 5,000 people marched through the city center to the town hall. After a non-violent and disciplined march with banners and chants, there was a meeting between the demonstrators and Mayor Hans Spahn, and other members of the council. The demonstrators handed in a petition, as well as an open letter which had previously been read out in the church. In talks with them, the mayor proposed not solving the problems on the street, but clearing them up in dialogue with those responsible on the city council. He stressed that the town hall was open to all citizens and that the relevant opportunities were available over the next few days. The documents handed in would be evaluated in the town hall.

The People's Police directed the traffic during the demonstration.

March in Jena

LD2510204289 Hamburg DPA in German 2006 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In Jena this evening more than 5,000 people are said to have demonstrated for reforms and free elections. According to church circles, the march formed after prayers in the city church. "Democracy Now Or Never," "No Power For Krenz" and "Free Elections" were demanded. The people marched peacefully to the town hall. The police controlled the traffic.

10,000 in Halberstadt

LD2510214689 Hamburg DPA in German 2128 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] [no dateline as received]—According to information from church circles, around 10,000 people demonstrated in Halberstadt this evening. A demonstration formed after peace prayers, which take place every Wednesday at St Mary's Church. Many people were carrying candles in their hands. It was said there was no hinderance by the police.

Dresden Citizens Form Working Groups, Protest

LD2410230289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2154 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Citizens of the city of Dresden intend to work together in nine working groups of the city deputies assembly. The topics of the working groups range from law and security, travel and emigration affairs, education and culture, to city development, the economy and ecology. Approximately 150 men and women came to an understanding on this on Tuesday [24 October] evening in the Kreuzkirche [church], which was at their disposal for this non-church event.

The citizens met at the initiative of those who acted as intermediaries during demonstrations in Dresden and who had in the meantime conducted two discussions with the chief mayor. Numerous representatives of the most varied professional groups, from workers through teachers to medical personnel, offered their cooperation in the working groups to be formed this coming Thursday [26 October] at the plenary session of the city deputies assembly.

In the evening hours several hundred citizens gathered in front of the Kreuzkirche for a silent demonstration. On the Theaterplatz others expressed their protest at the election of Egon Krenz as chairman of the Council of State.

Dresden Party Sponsors 'Dialogue Forums'

LD2510152189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1244 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Tomorrow [26 October] discussions will take place in Dresden such as there have rarely been held previously. More than 500 dialogue forums, especially in large halls in the GDR Industrial Bezirk [area] in Saxony, are expecting politicians, officials, and many citizens.

The intensive talks are due to an idea of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Bezirk Executive. Its first secretary, Hans Modrow, sees this as a further possibility for "social agreement and opinion-forming."

In the SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG, Modrow opposed continued demonstrations because it must not be a matter of mere talk and interesting theater. New and improved shaping of socialism are "things that must be conscientiously discussed, with great responsibility, with both sides listening with vigilance for quieter sounds and with a readiness to understand, and find answers." Wherever that was possible, he said, looking at the elected people's representative, this should now be put into practice without waiting for central stipulations.

Modrow, who is also a member of the SED Central Committee, admitted to the newspaper that the changes in the country were going too slowly for him. "In this respect, I am not in favor of over- hasty steps, of measures that are soon reversed because they have not been thought through or considered to the end. On the other hand, time is pressing to more clearly mark out the direction centrally, in which we want to march forward. I, too, am working on this with full responsibility."

Berlin Police President Warns Demonstrators

AU2510180889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Statement by Lieutenant General Friedhelm Rausch, president of the Berlin People's Police, at a news conference in Berlin on 25 October—recorded]

[Text] We are simply concerned about development trends in the unapproved demonstrations of the past few days, in particular the demonstration yesterday, Tuesday evening, in our capital city.

Public order and security are increasingly disturbed very strongly both in terms of place and time. This has already been reported. We would like to inform the public about this and about our standpoint.

Dialogue is and remains a necessary and permanent part of our political culture—this was said by the new State Council chairman on 24 October. In the meantime, this dialogue is taking place all over the country, in many forms and with many methods; this also goes for our capital city. And it is meeting with widespread approval.

It has been clearly shown that the streets are unsuited for this.

On 24 October, too, there were partners for talks in squares, as in Alexander Square and at the Television Tower. A large number of demonstrators held a dialogue there. However, information about these demonstrations particularly spoke of a hard core. Many did not want any dialogue. They simply rejected offers for talks. They wanted protests; confrontation; confrontation with the state power, in particular with the security organs; insecurity; and—and this I have to stress here in particular—they wanted to go to the Brandenburg Gate. It is a fact, that this again was an unapproved, thus illegal demonstration.

In the beginning, there were about 2,000 to 3,000 people; in the end a few hundred remained. However, as has been reported, it is correct that at certain times, there were up to 12,000 people.

For hours the 2,000 to 3,000 people marched recklessly and brawling, with banners and slogans, through the major throughways of our city's center. Road, railroad, and other public short-distance traffic was temporarily completely paralyzed. Many people among the demonstrators were drunk. For hours they made noise which constituted a nuisance that lasted until 2300.

After the atmosphere was worked up, they marched toward Unter den Linden with the slogan: Forward to the Brandenburg Gate. There their path was blocked—without violence, without arrests, even though many people had seriously endangered traffic, had committed hooliganism, and had caused noise constituting a nuisance.

It is only due to the prudence of the security organs that the provocations constantly aimed at them did not result in any incidents.

Everyone will understand that this must not be repeated. Our common concern is calm, order, and security. Only in this way can new things flourish. Therefore, I call on those forces, in particular on the organizers, to give up these senseless actions.

By the way, many people were recognized, who had caused violence and hooliganism in Alexander Square and in Schoenhauser Allee on 7 and 8 October. I say with emphasis: They are responsible for the consequences. The principle of equal rights for all applies to them, too. If the legal norms and regulations are obviously violated, these people will be held responsible for their crimes.

One more thing: It cannot be in the interest of the church that the starting point was again Gethsemane Church. This goes both for longer appeals, which were posted, and for calls for this demonstration, which were made in this church.

Police Defend Actions

LD2510170189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1415 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A press conference of the Berlin People's Police gave information on Wednesday on the course and effects of unauthorized demonstrations in the GDR capital in the past days. Before journalists from the press, radio, television and ADN, People's Police [VP] President Lieutenant General Friedhelm Rausch, his deputy, Chief of Staff Colonel Dr Dieter Dietze, and the head of the Traffic Police Department, Colonel Heinz Schlehuber spoke. The media representatives also had the opportunity to look at video recordings of the events of Tuesday evening, which, as was stressed by the representatives of the VP, considerably disturbed order and security in Berlin. Lt Gen Rausch expressed concern over developmental tendencies of the demonstrations through the Berlin center. Dialogue will "be and remain a constant element of politics" and finds broad assent. The street, however, is unsuitable for this.

The People's Police have tried to differentiate between those taking to the streets and their [different] aims. Colonel Dietze assessed that the majority of the at-times 12,000 demonstrators on Tuesday evening were looking for discussion and reached the opinion after some time that their demands had been given enough expression. However, a "hard militant core" of several hundred participants, among them people under the influence of alcohol, rejected every offer of dialogue and looked for, in the view of the People's Police, confrontation and uncertainty and "temporarily brought public transport to a standstill without regard for others."

The VP president regretted that during the earlier necessary police actions, things came to [the point of] harshness and overstepping of competences—which in his opinion was avoidable. For this reason 150 petitions and complaints are now on the table. People's policemen have apologized to those affected and have also spoken about possibilities of compensation.

As the investigations, which are still running, have shown, the material handed over to the VP contains lies, defamations, and slanders alongside information which is useful for the matter. There have neither been two deaths nor rapes, for example. Several "horror stories have no foundation whatsoever," the VP president stated, noting that the investigations will soon be concluded.

Dr Dietze conceded that many citizens have made conclusions about the overall situation on the basis of their own experiences. Reffering to the "protocols from memory" of those involved, which were handed over to the press at the beginning of the week by a number of church and other groupings, he stated that similar material from members of the protection and security forces could be set against this collection. "This however will not promote dialogue."

In response to a question Lt Gen Rausch underlined that the VP as always understood its actions as "service for the people." It is now a matter of thorough considerations about approaching the citizens even more and winning back lost confidence.

The VP president justified the fact that he is only now expressing himself comprehensively by referring to the need to follow up thoroughly all reports so that the results are unambiguous.

In the words of Col Schlehuber as well, the demonstration on Tuesday had considerable effects for local public transport and beyond.

Mothers were unable to fetch their children at the right time from creches and kindergarten because the buses and trains were late. In a case of a heart attack the Rapid Medical Aid was only able to reach a patient by a roundabout route, but luckily it was in time. Whenever the Traffic Police intervened, it was always for security reasons, for which vehicles were stopped or diverted.

Account of 'Torture'

AU2510185489 Hamburg BILD in German 25 Oct 89 pp 1, 4

[Georg Bauer report: "GDR: The Torture Protocol"]

[Text] East Berlin—The victims were women and children, young and old men, and other fellow citizens. They were insulted and tortured, and crammed in garages for hours. The People's Police and the state security organs, the concentrated state power of the GDR, had no pity on the demonstrators who participated in rallies in East Berlin on 7 October. A total of 150 GDR citizens describe their sufferings in a moving document that BILD has received. "They shouted at us: 'Rabble, shut up!'" a young man from East Berlin reports. Another young man states: "An old man had his head hit aqainst the pavement several times." Over 20 women were for hours crammed into a 9-square-meter cell without windows. "I had to take off all my clothes," one demonstrator reported. It is a protocol of torture which nobody would have conceived possible 44 years after the end of Nazi terrorism. As a Politburo member, the new general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Egon Krenz, was responsible for the police attacks. Yesterday [24 October], after his election as State Council chairman by the People's Chamber, he regretted "that there were individual cases of brutality during some demonstrations."

The torture protocol numbers 80 pages and is typed on yellow paper. The pages are partly torn because the protocol has been read by so many people. We publish the following excerpts:

—A mother from East Berlin states: "The worst thing for me was that the police hit the hands of my 14-year-old daughter with rubber truncheons, just because she was holding a candle. The candle was brutally knocked out of her hand."

—A young woman from East Berlin writes: "Three plainclothes policemen and one policeman in uniform approached us. Before they could do anything, I shouted at the top of my voice: 'Do not hit me, I am pregnant!' I ducked, turning to the wall, and my boyfriend protected me from behind. However, the four of them beat us up brutally. My boyfriend shouted repeatedly: She is pregnant. The policeman in uniform disappeared, but a plainclothes policeman hit me directly on my stomach."

—Another woman reports: "After midnight a woman came into our cell who was bleeding all over. She had a hole in her head and a brain concussion. The physician put a plaster on her hair and said that everything was alright. The young woman told us what had happened. Hundreds of people had been standing in a garage for an hour, with their faces to the wall. The first ones had arrived there by running the gauntlet. This means: Policemen with truncheons were standing on both sides of the garage door and beat everyone into the garage."

—A young man reports about what happened in Alexanderplatz Square: "Many were detained individually and dragged in the direction of the police station by their hair or clothes, and beaten up brutally, mainly on their heads, their knees, and their genitals in the case of men."

—Another citizen from East Berlin states: "I was taken to the Emanuelkirchstrasse police station. When I arrived there, I was insulted by eight policemen who shouted the following words: 'You miserable character, you swine. If you move, we'll beat the shit out of you.'"

—Another young woman reports: "I saw how an elderly man was seized by his hair and how his face was repeatedly hit against the pavement by three uniformed policemen."

—Another woman states: "A young women sat beside me on the truck. She had her period, and her clothes were already stained with blood. She asked for some cotton. A policeman replied: 'It is not available. You should have thought about this earlier.'"

—A citizen from East Berlin reports: "I had to take off all my clothes and to do five knee bends. Because I was not fast enough, I was hit with a stick, I had to move to the wall, and they told me to straddle my legs. They hit the inside of my calves until I collapsed."

—Another woman describes how a young man who jumped from a truck was knocked down: "When our truck was going at considerable speed, our driver suddenly slammed on the brakes. Then the truck immediately started again, and we saw a young man lying in the street. He had been run over by our truck. He was then dragged to the sidewalk on the left side by two passengers."

The GDR State Council admitted dryly yesterday: "Members of the protection and security organs overstepped their authority and acted unlawfully against people brought in for legal proceedings," ADN reported.

Journalists Union Urges Media Policy Change

LD2510184189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1715 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The chairman of the Central Executive of the Union of Journalists (VDJ), Eberhard Heinrich, has proposed in a letter to the Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph further constructive steps on the part of the GDR Government to improve the work of informing the public. The VDJ Presidium had already stated that the journalists of the country would deploy all their strength in a responsible way for the renewal of socialist society. Although some barriers have already fallen, which had previously prevented effective, free, and realistic journalistic work, the union intends to set out further ideas.

On behalf of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, a government spokesman should inform the journalists regularly on the activity of the government, disseminate information on his own initiative, and be available for inquiries. In general, ministers or their deputies should give competent information on the situation and tasks in their area at regular press conferences and should answer questions.

In the past, obstacles and complex authorization procedures had been set up predominantly in the economy but also in other areas. It should not be dependent on the subjective understanding or lack of understanding of responsible directors whether journalistic work is possible at an establishment or not. The Union of Journalists suggests that the Council of Ministers emphasize its own regulations on the obligations on directors to supply information and to check the application of the clauses regarding confidentiality.

Lastly, the VDJ poses the question whether the GDR does not need a media law in which rights and obligations are unambiguously regulated, whereby subjectivism and arbitrariness could be removed, the constitutional principles on press freedom in socialism could be clearly regulated, and their abuse excluded.

The Union of Journalists assures the premier of its interest in cooperating in the elaboration of such a law which could be broadly discussed in public before it was dealt with in the People's Chamber.

VFF Seeks Changes

LD2510171789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1452 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The communique from the meeting of the Executive of the Film and Television Specialists Association of the GDR [VFF], which was convened on Tuesday [as received] in Berlin, has the following text:

"The executive concerned itself, in a 9-hour, passionate and controversial debate, with the current situation in politics, particularly in media politics, and made decisions on the following subjects:

1. The dynamism of the current social processes and the essential changes in the media policy of our society render it necessary to convene an extraordinary congress.

2. The VFF is following the proposal of the Theater Specialists Association of the GDR and is participating in a joint working group of all artists associations, which is working out proposals for the 12th Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] party congress and for the Council of Ministers, in which the function and position of the artists associations are to be newly defined in accordance with the changed social requirements.

3. Saying that the interests of state and society and of party and society in information and media policy are the same has been a decisive factor in the present crisis of confidence. For this reason legal principles must be worked out which are based on a division of these interests. They should secure the freedom of the media and the political inviolability of the people working in the media; they should establish the responsibility of each person for his product; and they should create instruments for democratic control of the media. The association claims a decisive right of consultation in working out such principles and in creating democratic bodies to control the media. The association proposes to the Journalist Association the formation of a joint working group, to do the necessary preliminary work for a press and media law, which should be given to the People's Chamber of the GDR to be passed.

4. GDR television and all media are called upon to conduct a direct and open dialogue with all groups prepared for discussion, even informal groups, which adhere to the GDR Constitution. GDR television is also called upon to open up its channels with immediate effect for documentary films from national and international production, and to establish permanent time slots for them.

5. GDR television is called upon to publish with immediate effect its viewing figures.

6. The association demands the formation of an Institute for Opinion, Effect, Viewer and Media Research, and the ongoing publication of the results of its work.

7. The DEFA studios, the HFF [expansion unknown] and GDR television are called upon to promote the documentaries, which are at present being worked upon, on the current events in our country. GDR television in particular is called upon to take up this work without delay in its programming.

8. Following a proposal from the Film Section, the VFF Executive calls on the bodies responsible for this to rehabilitate our colleague, Comrade Walter Janka. The HV Publishing Houses of the Ministry for Culture are called upon to introduce without delay the publication of Walter Janka's book "Difficulties With The Truth" in the GDR.

9. The executive decides on the formation of a working group consisting of members of all sections, which will check all films and television programs of all types and genres from our national production, which have not yet been shown, to see which of them should be shown in the cinemas and on the screen.

10. GDR television is recommended to convene a conference as soon as possible. It should define the social function of the media under the new conditions.

11. The executive decided to revive an international documentary film symposium in the GDR."

'New Forum' Spokesman Comments on Krenz

PM2510153889 Paris LIBERATION in French 19 Oct 89 p 2

[Interview with GDR New Forum Spokesman Rainer Pietsch by Michele Blerot in Leipzig—date not given]

[Excerpt] [Introductory passage omitted]

LIBERATION: What is your reaction to the news of Erich Honecker's departure?

Rainer Pietsch: It is a gesture by the party which is primarily surprising because of the speed with which it was made. We certainly expected some people to be replaced—information suggesting this was circulating in the enterprises on Tuesday—but we could not have expected it so soon, especially at the head of the party. This decision does not change our positions or our demands.

If Egon Krenz wishes to be a democrat, a man of restructuring and renewal, he must take practical action immediately. The most important signal for us would be the legalization of New Forum.

But the very surprising choice of Egon Krenz makes me sad rather than hopeful. Krenz has not hitherto shown much evidence of realism. His support for the Chinese Government after the violent repression of the student movement does not make me optimistic. His appointment may also have an ulterior motive. Krenz is apparently seriously ill. It is not impossible that another change may take place very soon.

LIBERATION: How do you explain the speed of the Politburo's decision?

Rainer Pietsch: I have always counted on disagreements within the party itself. Many regional party officials had felt abandoned by Berlin for some time and thought they were having to do all the dirty work. Tensions were visible in the media. There was no longer any link, or any unity between NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's organ, and LEIPZIGER

VOLKSZEITUNG, the party's regional newspaper in which some journalists have made efforts.

LIBERATION: Will there be another demonstration in Leipzig next Monday?

Rainer Pietsch: It is not for us to decide. It is important not to forget that the demonstrations are spontaneous each time and are not led or organized by anybody. We have called this extraordinary strength the "miracle of Saint Nicholas" [reference to church of Saint Nicholas in Leipzig]. Promises are not enough for the people. If Krenz misses his chance, Leipzig's inhabitants will show that they will not be satisfied with cosmetic changes.

'New Forum' Member Schult Assesses Krenz

AU2310171189 Vienna PROFIL in German 23 Oct 89 pp 52-53

[Interview with GDR opposition New Forum cofounder Reinhard Schult by Ernst Schmiederer: "Krenz Stands for the Old Program"—date and place not given]

[Text] PROFIL: Do you see in the change of leadership an initial step toward reform?

Schult: For us this is just cosmetic surgery. New people cannot be equated with a new program, and Egon Krenz really stands for the old program. As chairman of the Election Commission, he was one of the people who are responsible for the fraud in local elections on 7 May. Two or 3 weeks ago, he backed the Chinese comrades once again.

PROFIL: Politburo member Joachim Herrmann, who was responsible for propaganda, had to go as well. Is it not more than just cosmetic surgery for somebody to be ousted who determined the country's media policy?

Schult: Quite a few things have changed in the media in these days. Therefore, it was clear that Herrmann would probably have to go. As for the rest, the newspapers are still full of terms such as efficiency increase and labor productivity. So indirectly, the blame is still being put on the working people. Research of the causes and research of the crises is not carried out within the bureaucracy. The fact that Krenz was appointed shows that a technocratic solution was intended. Political change will only be carried out to the extent that this is absolutely necessary, and to the extent that the protest movement has forced them to do so.

PROFIL: Do you see in the more frank news coverage of some newspapers in recent weeks a bit of glasnost?

Schult: It is not yet glasnost, because it is relatively easy to see the intention behind it. The near future will show to what extent this can be turned back again. All of this has not yet been guaranteed structurally, institutionally, or by law.

PROFIL: The appeals of the "New Forum" have been signed by about 25,000 people....

Schult: At least. We are constantly getting reports from the whole country. We may well say that they are already 40,000.

PROFIL: Meanwhile, do you know from which social strata these people come?

Schult: We can say in principle that the "New Forum" is represented everywhere today, including very strongly among the workers, but in particular in the intelligentsia. It is amazing that so many doctors are among them because they are considered very conservative, and very many of them went to the West.

PROFIL: Are you concerned that Honecker's resignation and the partial opening up of the newspapers could reassure many people, and that as a result, they could lose their courage to protest?

Schult: I do not currently think that that will happen. The mood about Krenz is very skeptical. He will have to let words be followed by deeds very soon. However, he did not announce such deeds in his speech on Wednesday [18 October].

PROFIL: Should the demonstrations be continued, or should people rather bank on dialogue for the moment?

Schult: We think that the demonstrations in the streets should certainly be continued. We should not let ourselves be deprived of the right to freedom of demonstration anymore, until it has really been institutionalized, and until the legal basis has been created allowing us to demonstrate in the future.

PROFIL: There were talks between representatives of power and the New Forum. Are you also expecting such talks on a national level in Berlin?

Schult: Following the speech given by Krenz, we are rather skeptical that that will happen in the next 2 weeks. On the other hand, the political movement meanwhile is relatively strong, so we do not know what changes may be forthcoming in the next weeks. Possibly Krenz is just a provisional solution.

Reformer Says Krenz To Be Nation's 'Nixon'

AU2410150289 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 22 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by unidentified author: "Krenz: If People Are Allowed to Travel, They Do Not Demonstrate"]

[Text] In the two past editions, WELT AM SONNTAG published a report each by a man from the circle of reformers within the leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] on the power struggle within the ruling party. From the same source we received the following assessment of the party's new general secretary. Our informer guarantees its authenticity. WELT AM SONNTAG also publishes this article with the note that it was impossible to verify its contents. The editorial board.

Article by [name replaced by three asterisks]

Everything that I feared during the past few weeks has come true. The reform-minded forces within the party did not display enough determination; they hesitated and proceeded in a tactical manner. Thus, at the last minute they had no choice but to agree to the election of this "crown prince," in order not to betray themselves.

The smart tactician Hager, together with Krolikowski and Tisch, withdrew support for Honecker at the decisive moment and acted as a kingmaker. He was convinced that time was on the reformers' side, and therefore he was hastily pressing for Honecker's resignation. The Soviet leadership had to accept Krenz as the lesser evil for the time being. However, this is no permanent solution. Contrary to Honecker, who removed his mentor and promoter Ulbricht from power in 1971 from a position of strength, the majority of the Politburo pushed Egon Krenz forward because he is not considered to be a strong man but a man of no great political power and of ill health.

As has always happened in the SED's history, the personnel change was first decided within the inner circle, and then the Central Committee that was quickly summoned to Berlin, and now—discussions are allowed. However, also the frequently cited dialogue is only part of the tactical line. It was Egon Krenz who made a Freudian slip by stating immediately after assuming power that dialogue is not a tactical move. Nobody had suggested this until this point.

People who expected a GDR Gorbachev have to deal with a GDR Brezhnev. The most likely assumption, however, is that Egon Krenz will go down in history as the Nixon of the GDR, which means that no trick is too dirty for him that satisfies his craving for power, ambition, and his vanity. He is responsible for the recent election fraud, and he only made the workers of VEB Bergmann-Borsig write a critical letter to be able to storm Honecker with the "voice of the workers class." This suggests that he will not stop at the most complicated intrigues. One has to have seen him in the company of a few people, when he breaks loose from all restraint and stops smiling, in order to realize the whole extent of his complexes. He feels that no thinking person takes him seriously, and therefore he tries to curry favor with other people or attacks them.

The citizens in this country will be well advised from this week on to search for a tactical move, a trick behind the leadership's measures, no matter how human they may seem.

Thus, it was not prudence on the part of the leadership that ordered the security forces to exercise restraint and to prevent attacks and an escalation, but an attempt not to provide a target for the opposition forces. The conservatives are in agreement that it is important not "to produce martyrs" for the opposition. An analysis of the condition of the reform groups in the country clearly shows that the Politburo thinks that they are not to be feared "if treated correctly." The leadership wants them to be afraid of reprisals on the one hand and wants them to hope for dialogue and understanding on the other, thus making them largely incapable of acting. This analysis also mentions the fact that the opposition in the country is lacking suitable leaders who show charisma and the determination to act, and that it is also lacking a clear program. These shortcomings will become even more evident in the coming weeks and months when the emotional demonstrations in the streets and in the churches gradually lose momentum. A rainy fall and a cold winter will considerably reduce the people's willingness to take to the streets, the conservatives believe. In spring, one has to be careful again to prevent the start of a new wave of demonstrations. The moment an opposition leader begins to emerge, the party will do everything possible to deprive him of the people's support, by means of defamation and allegations if necessary.

Krenz, Hager and Tisch have pointed out that what they want is to give the man in the street the feeling that the leadership is interested in his criticism and his proposals. Every functionary should listen attentively and show understanding. A joke is circulating in the Central Committee's agitation commission that "the people are now being given an enema," because, according to Goebbels, "carping is the bowel movement of the soul."

As I predicted, the chairman of the Free German Trade Union Federation, Harry Tisch, has joined the reformers—verbally. This man, who for decades called for unconditional and blind obedience on the part of the trade union officials, visits enterprises today, scolding these officials because they did not act in a responsible way. He is not ashamed to add that "such a thing must not be tolerated anywhere. Let me make this very clear." The fact that the scolded officials accept the rebuke without criticism shows the demoralization of the apparatus. At the same time, it becomes clear that we are dealing with Germans.

Egon Krenz also proceeds from this assumption. He knows his German fellow men. As the next few months will show, he will be able to score initial successes with this policy. Apart from the expansion of cosmetic actions in the media and the "well-organized comprehensive discussion with the people," the Politburo expects a major boost from comprehensive changes in travel restrictions that will be announced shortly. Currently, great efforts are under way to work out corresponding formalities. It is still unclear whether nearly all travel restrictions will be abolished (with restrictions remaining in force for army members and members of the security organs) or whether only the travel age will be reduced decisively. In any case, essential changes will be involved "that will make the protesters get out of breath."

At the same time, measures will be initiated to visibly improve the supply of the population with articles in daily use. To achieve this, the leadership wants to tap foreign currency reserves and to make large-scale purchases in non-socialist countries.

"If people are allowed to travel and have good and sufficient food, they will no longer follow the pied pipers in the streets," Egon Krenz believes. Kurt Hager told a friend that time is the most important thing at the moment, because the situation of the "Big Brother" still continues to aggravate. It is not clear yet who will have more staying power.

However, Hager will no longer be able to profit from this. Hager's replacement by Deputy Culture Minister Hartmut Koenig, the most loyal aide of the new general secretary, is only a matter of time. Tisch, Krolikowski, and Mielke will have a similar fate. The "professional youth representatives," the fellow men of the general secretary from FDJ [Free Democratic Youth] times have long been waiting for the day when their Egon opens the door to the cabinet of power for them. The succession of generations has been initiated. The ideologists are leaving and the pragmatic politicians are taking over. Policy turns into business. Now officials among the SED leadership are doing each other favors, and the Politburo's discipline is gone once and for all. This closed community no longer exists because it was based on ideals. The new young men no longer really care about ideals, they are striving for the comforts linked with power. However, this does not mean that they are no longer interested in sticking to the dogmas because this ensures their power.

Egon Krenz will not last very long, not only because of his ill health, but also because he lacks the necessary intelligence and charisma. He will not be able to survive the political infighting. For this reason, the reformers in the SED are right to assume that Krenz will only be a transition figure for the next 2 years, but this period will be sufficient to completely ruin the GDR. Subsequently, no type of socialism whatsoever will stand a chance.

It might still be possible to stop the decline at this point. A several-hundred-page protocol on the attacks carried out by the security forces in Berlin during demonstrations staged on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, which was compiled by opposition circles and submitted to Amnesty International, might considerably shorten the new general secretary's term of office, because Central Committee Secretary Egon Krenz continues to be responsible for all so-called security forces in the GDR. Bishop Forck, who also has a copy of the protocol, has meanwhile warned against its publication because he is afraid that this would give rise to protests that would be difficult to control. "It reads like the scenario of a horror film. It has the potential of blowing up the whole GDR," somebody who has read the manuscript stated.

'Freethinkers' Group Disputes ADN Report

LD2510135189 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 24 Oct 89

["Excerpts" from interview with Schink, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Free Thinkers (Freidenker) in the GDR, by unidentified interviewer; time and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Question] I think that your first publications have been formulated rather intellectually, maybe too intellectually, Mr Schink.

[Schink] This is certainly a matter of attitude. The starting point in the foundation of the working committee may have been somewhat too intelectual. In the meantime, however, all have understood clearly what the association's functions should be, namely making a contribution to the dialogue with the people on what is necessary to make socialism in the GDR more attractive, pleasant, and productive.

[Question] In the speech given by your president in the foundation ceremony he said that the free thinking follows the rules of logic and dialectic, that it is based on scientific findings, and that it accepts the practice as a criterion of truth. Well, one says in general that thoughts are free. Why then these limitations and formulations? You want the people to speak freely without great consideration about whether their statements might not be fully in line with realities?

[Schink] With the discussion headlines: "What is free thinking?" we have achieved a very productive and interesting debate. However, you are naturally right in saying that we may have not said clearly enough what we want. In viewing the current situation, I would say that you are right in maintaining that we should make no limitations, leaving nobody out of these talks. We want to handle the dialogue by being fully aware of our responsibility. The further development and preservation of socialism in the GDR is the central ingredient.

Last week we published a standpoint of the free thinkers. I must add here, however, that the news agency, ADN, has cut and strongly distorted our standpoint in an unacceptable way. We said that we share the concern of our members regarding the situation in our country, and that one should defend the achievements of socialism together with all our citizens while simultaneously finding ways to make some progress on that basis. We said that we want to be an oposition to those wanting to unhinge socialism. At the same time, however, we want to be an opposition and social force that acts against window dressing, heartlessness, and untruthfulness. We know that there must be a permanent difference of opinion, a permanent dispute, and we want to live with it.

Opposition Members Discuss Dreams for Progress

AU2510162489 East Berlin Voice of GDR in German 1500 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Personal wishes for the future were discussed late Tuesday evening [24 October] in a discussion in the Berlin House of Young Talents. Until well after midnight, the participants in the discussion spoke about a GDR that they are dreaming of. Markus Wolf wished for politicians who stand with their face to the people, as did Gerhard Schoene, who had presented a song on this issue in the concert prior to the discussion. Wolf said that it is important to him that the people say what they think and do what they say. He noted that this also applies to the members of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. Stefan Heym called for credibility, which is not measured by words but by deeds. There is also the question of how the braggarts of yesterday will be able to honestly cite the texts of tomorrow. Baerbel Bohley, who presented herself as the representative of the New Forum group, said that part of her dreams have been fulfilled by her having the opportunity to sit here and describe how she imagines the GDR instead of looking somewhere else and thinking somewhere else.

'New Forum' Holds First Public Meeting

AU2510172489 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 25 Oct

[Dietrich Klaus report]

[Text] The news spread through the so-called bush wireless, through mouth-to-mouth propaganda: The "New Forum" is meeting in the Predigerkirche Church on Monday evening [23 October]. The church is filled with people 1 hour before the event begins. None of the organizers expected over 3,000 people, who have come to attend the event. There is a tense and solemn silence despite the fact there they are not attending a religious service. Most of the visitors are for the first time participating in such a large political assembly. Many of them are still afraid. The working groups of the "New Forum" present their calls for reform on this day. Important issues, such as culture, legal matters, ecology, economy, and health are discussed. The spokespersons of the groups introduce themselves by indicating their names and addresses. This courage is greeted with applause. The participants want to encourage each other and find an outlet for the pressure. The spokeswoman of the working group dealing with the press is interrupted by applause after every sentence.

[Begin recording unidentified spokeswoman of press working group] The media that are governed by the party and the government must be replaced by an independent press. [applause]

It should not be left to Western media to spread information that concerns the GDR. [applause]

Human rights are no internal affairs. [applause]

The reasons for shortcomings must not be searched abroad. Criticism must be accepted in our country. [applause]

Conscious stupefaction must be stopped. [applause] [end recording]

The "New Forum" wants to publish its own independent paper, with a planned circulation of 3,000 copies in Erfurt. Paper, wax stencils, and printing ink must be procured on the black market because independent papers are still banned.

The call for the abolition of military education in schools is popular among the audience, two-thirds of whom are young people.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] We call for the abolition of military education in the schools [applause], and the introduction of education for peace. [end recording]

Most of the speakers are not used to addressing a public audience. They are obviously using a microphone for the first time in their lives. Some lose their train of thought, not only out of stage fright but also out of fear of the state security organs. After all, the Interior Ministry described them recently as enemies of the state.

[Being unidentified speaker recording] I am glad that the "New Forum" has been founded. I assume that, like myself, many speak with a throbbing heart [words indistinct] and that they must overcome this throbbing because they have to overcome their fear. [passage indistinct] However, I think that time is ripe that we participate. [words indistinct] [end recording]

The deep-seated fear of the authorities and the old Prussian subservience are replaced by new disobedience in the GDR provinces as well. The opposition is trying to practice basic democracy. The fact that everybody is allowed here to expound his views as long as he wants reminds one of the founding meetings of the Greens in the FRG. The departure for a new political culture has only started in the GDR.

[Begin recording "New Forum" founding member Rolf] The mood among the people who attended the meeting was characterized by the feeling that we are strong, that there are surprisingly many of us. I found it extremely exciting. It was surprising how much openness and personal courage were displayed by the participants. [end recording]

Rolf is a founding member of the "New Forum." He has been working for the GDR's ecological and peace movement for years. Most of the members of the "New Forum" have for years been doing political work. They are now calling for far-reaching reforms, whereas the many new supporters of the opposition want to first vent their anger about the government. After decades of being patronized, they lack real political education. For this reason, Rolf fears that many GDR citizens will be satisfied with superficial reforms, such as the relaxation of travel restrictions.

[Begin Rolf recording] I am afraid that the statements by officials of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the Politburo that have been published in individual papers, which express willingness for dialogue and which call for changes in our country are no proposals that can be taken seriously but which are only intended to direct the discontent in certain channels so that changes in the structures can be avoided. I am afraid that nothing will change, except in the issue concerning travel regulations, and that tougher measures will again be adopted against the new political groups once superficial changes are carried out. [end recording]

Despite all attempts at intimidation, Rolf decided to stay in the GDR. Like most of the other committed opposition members, Rolf used to nearly despise GDR citizens who left the country. Now he has realized that the shock effect of the mass escape for the political leadership may have a healing effect. He hopes that the wave of refugees will soon subside once efficient reforms are carried out in the GDR.

'New Forum' To Work Alongside LDPD

LD2210203789 Hamburg DPA in German 1855 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Members of the political citizens initiative group, "New Forum," will be able to work alongside the GDR liberal party. It was confirmed in East Berlin today by initiators of the "Forum," that several GDR cities also tolerate this grouping as interlocutor.

Those interested can then be accepted as new members of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] provided that they comply with its statutes. In an LDPD document, which was approved a week ago by the Secretariat of the Central Executive, it says in effect: Members of other associations, New Forum etc., can enter the party.

It adds that members of the "New Forum" will also in future be able to stand in elections with LDPD mandates. The "Forum," which has well over 30,000 signatures from supporters, is tolerated, the "Forum" itself says, in Potsdam, Frankfurt/Oder and Erfurt. There were also talks and endeavors under way to achieve legalization. In other cities, too, there were contacts with local representatives.

In the LDPD document, there is call for a public and open social dialogue, to include the "New Forum." The inclusion of critical non-state political groups is also desired by the GDR Federation of Churches. The new Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader Egon Krenz did not contradict this view at the joint talk last week, acording to the church side.

Among the demands made by the GDR liberals are also a new media policy, improved travel possibilities, to the West also, and changes in the subvention policy.

Readers Advocate Performance Principle

AU2510172089

[Editorial report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 23 October on page 3 under the headline "The Performance Principle—Is It Implemented in the GDR?" carries five readers' letters (2,000 words) written in response to articles about the performance principle by Professor Otto Reinhold and Professor Harry Nick, published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on 8 and 9 August 1989.

The readers generally welcome the fact that the performance principle "plays an important role in the current discussion." Guenter Naehrig of Berlin, for example, writes: "Justice in socialism can be guaranteed only if the performance principle is fully implemented. In this context, inequality is justice. Thus, distribution on the basis of the performance principle is a basic right and, in my opinion, one of the fundamental values of socialism, just like full employment, unlimited access to education, or social security for sick and old people."

'Democracy Now' Blames Krenz for Crisis

LD2510170389 Hamburg DPA in German 1615 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The citizens' movement "Democracy Now" 's initiative group has accused state and party leader Egon Krenz of bearing "co-responsibility for the continuing crisis of the state in the GDR." The group regretted Krenz's election as chairman of the Council of State and National Defense Council.

As chairman of the National Electoral Commission, Krenz is "responsible for the fraud at the local elections on 7 May 1989." As the Politburo member responsible for security questions he must be regarded as one of the main people responsible for the illegal acts of violence against mostly peaceful demonstrators in the days before and after 7 October. It is also regretted in the statement released today and signed by spokeswoman Ulrike Poppe, that Krenz had approved of the bloody suppression of the pro-democracy movement in China.

Schabowski Asks 'Regulated Manner' in Protests

LD2610064589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2209 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR does not need to turn itself into a socialist state based on the rule of law at this stage of its development. It already has all the decisive elements in this respect, said Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk

Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], this evening in a live television interview on the program "Tagesthemen."

But of course that is not a development which has been concluded. "It will be perfected in the course of the change which we have now made in the process of renewal and in the process of dialogue with all parts of the population." This too is no announcement, but a process which has been going on for a long time.

Guenter Schabowski replied to a question on the readiness for dialogue with all parts of the population, even with the "new opposition groups in the GDR." "Talks with people who feel close to such opposition groups, as you call them, and we could discuss that; the talks have long been in motion." Tomorrow he will have talks with Professor Reich, whose name has often been mentioned in connection with the "New Forum."

Guenter Schabowski said he was sure that during these talks he will gain an insight into the things which Prof Reich and the reasons he and other citizens of the country have for joining such organizations. There are no limits on talks with them, just as there are no limits on dialogue based on the Constitution, which basically has only one elementary condition, agreement with the socialist basis of society.

In reply to the question of whether Egon Krenz will also hold talks with the "New Forum," Guenter Schabowski said Krenz was of the same opinion on the breadth of the dialogue. The spectrum includes all groups in the population. Guenter Schabowski said: "The only reference that we always bear in mind is the Constitution and the profession of the socialist basis of our society."

The GDR politician announced that today he discussed a demonstration planned for the same evening with Consistory President Stolpe. During the discussion he asked that the church influence those citizens who took part in such demonstrations so that these demonstrations pass in a regulated manner without inconvenience or disturbance of the citizens of Berlin.

"Yesterday we noted that groups rioted through the streets late into the night." Citizens showed their extreme annoyance with this disturbance in a whole series of phone calls and asked the SED Bezirk Executive how it would act in the future. On this Guenter Schabowski said: "The answer to this can only be that regulated and permitted demonstrations oblige both sides to behave as is required by the situation and the cause for which these demonstrators take to the streets." He added: "We do not at all consider the street a suitable place for dialogue."

There are numerous opportunities for citizens to express themselves and to put forward their views and proposals. Schabowski added: "I am sure that over the next few days this opinion will prevail among large circles of our citizens, and we will need to talk less and less about what is happening in the streets."

In response to a question on future opportunities to travel, Guenter Schabowski said that it could be seen from the announcement alone that all GDR citizens will receive passports, "with the commitment the forces of renewal in our country are turning this renewal into real actions." A relevant draft law will be presented to the population in November.

Guenter Schabowski stressed that this will not be something "which is only hatched out at the high table, but the population will receive the opportunity to express their views on it." Otherwise, as was announced today in the relevant press release, every citizen of the GDR will receive a passport. Every citizen will, with due regard for the circumstances necessary for such a journey, the granting of visa, etc., be able to travel to any country in the world.

Asked about successors to Guenter Mittag and Joachim Herrman, Guenter Schabowski pointed to the 10th session of the SED Central Committee. "I am sure the Central Committee will make the decisions required to fill these offices." On the question of other prospective appointments, Schabowski said: "That is left to the democratic process of reaching a decision within our party. But, you can of course be sure that there are discussions on this in the responsible bodies and that thoughts are being instigated."

Dialogue Continues

LD2510223189 Hamburg DPA in German 2151 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—According to Politburo member Guenter Schabowski, talks between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership and opposition groups have long been set in motion. As Schabowski said on "Tagesthemen," in a live relay from GDR television studios in East Berlin, there were "absolutely no limits" in the dialogue with citizens. The basic conditions were solely respect for the GDR Constitution and the socialist basis of society. Egon Krenz, SED leader and chairman of the Council of State, was also of this opinion, Schabowski said. In this connection Schabowski announced personal talks with Professor Jens Reich, one of the founding members of the "New Forum." On the question of further changes in the party leadership, Schabowski spoke of a process of consideration which was not yet over.

Leipzig Deputy Urges Inquiry Into Elections

LD2510184289 Hamburg DPA in German 1730 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin/Leipzig (DPA)—Voices within the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] too have now called for allegations of fraud during the local elections on 7 May to be cleared up. The Leipzig city deputy, Bernhard Knupp has called for the "calling of a meeting of the city assembly without delay" in order to answer the question "whether and if so to what extent there are illegal actions in carrying out and calculating the result" of these elections.

In an "open letter" to Mayor Bernd Seidel published today in the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG the SED politician writes of "anger and bitterness" because "the leadership of our city" has so far no answer to people's pressing problems. Knupp was writing with the background of mass demonstrations and demands from the population in the trade fair city. [passage omitted]

The deputy, who is also chairman of the Popular Representation Standing Committee, has already had a response to his demands. The paper writes under his letter: The city assembly has now "been summoned to an extraordinary session for this coming Saturday."

Prague Embassy To Issue Travel Documents

AU2510194489 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] The GDR has decided that its embassy in Prague can temporarily issue permits to the GDR citizens currently in the FRG Embassy for their emigration to a third country. This regulation has been coordinated with the CSSR Government.

Krenz Talks With Kohl for First Time

LD2610130689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0934 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR State Council Chairman Egon Krenz had his first telephone conversation this morning with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, it was reported to ADN.

During the 20-minute telephone conversation, which was conducted in a practical and constructive atmosphere, Egon Krenz and Helmut Kohl emphasized their interest in the further development of relations between the two states and in the continuation of practical cooperation. In this connection, Egon Krenz referred to his speeches to the Central Committee and the GDR People's Chamber. He had spoken in them of a change, which, however, by no means implied a reversal. The GDR remains a socialist country. This also serves the cause of stability in Europe.

Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl welcomed the contact made, and advocated its continuation. He is in favor of reaching for the telephone when problems arise, and talking with one another. Egon Krenz agreed, and remarked that it is always better to speak with one another than to speak about one another.

The interlocutors agreed that politics must always serve the interests of the people. They also agreed on questions which are on the agenda for the future. The FRG, Egon Krenz stated, might consider how certain practical problems could be handled to ensure that respect for GDR citizenship is clear. Helmut Kohl affirmed his view that there must be discussion of those matters on which common agreement can be reached. Both politicians agreed that their representatives should discuss current problems and prepare them for decision.

Egon Krenz wished Federal Chancellor Kohl good health after his operation.

Krenz Meets With FRG Bundestag's Mischnik

LD2510125989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a frank exchange of thoughts between the two politicians all essential questions were touched upon which involve the responsibility of both German states for safeguarding peace and the present relationship between the GDR and the FRG. Taking part in the meeting was Manfred Gerlach, deputy chairman of the Council of State and chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany].

Wolfgang Mischnick congratulated Egon Krenz, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, on his election to the highest offices of the SED and the state and wished him success in his work. Egon Krenz thanked him for this and said that he does indeed need success in the interests of GDR citizens.

Egon Krenz informed the guest on the results of the ninth SED Central Committee session. A realistic evaluation of the situation in the GDR was made at that meeting. The changes embarked on are aimed at doing everything for the well-being of the people. The proposed reforms deal above all with increased efficiency of the national economy and with extension of the possibilities of the exercise of political power by the working people in town and country through their elected people's representatives.

Socialist democracy, a truth confirmed by life, is also necessary in the GDR as air is for breathing. All of this will bring a stronger and more attractive socialism to German soil. The social renewal will be borne by the broadest strata of the people. Comprehensive dialogue as a part of the political culture has been set in motion. There is already an atmosphere of departure [aufbruchstimmung] tangible in the country. Egon Krenz said that in the future as well there will be no chance of implementing recommendations from the West for such reforms to be carried through which question the socialist social order.

With regard to bilateral relations between the GDR and the FRG, no more and no less is involved than consolidation of a policy which has as its content peaceful coexistence between two states with differing social structures and value systems, joint responsibility for a European peace order, dialogue and working together cooperatively, and good-neighborliness.

Much depends on stability in relations between the two German states for the stability of the European continent. In the interests of the future European home, that which the Germans in East and West expect should be held on to: that never again should war and fascism emanate from German soil. In this connection Egon Krenz stressed that the advance of neo-Nazi and revanchist forces in the FRG is viewed with the greatest concern in the GDR.

The GDR is an independent and sovereign state in the heart of Europe with a 40-year history of development. It has taken different paths to the FRG following the liberation of the German people from Hitler fascism by the Soviet Army and its coalition partners. Each side should respect that without qualification. Each of the two German states have to bear, as is usual internationally, responsibility for its territory, its state people, its state citizens. Neither mutual blame nor intervention in the affairs of the neighbor have brought us progress. The GDR supports far-reaching liberalness in each sides' behavior with the other, while respecting sovereignty.

Egon Krenz expressed the expectation that the FRG will also clear the known obstacles. The insistence on a caring duty for all Germans is incompatible with the right of self-determination, of free choice of social order. The governments of both German states could set a sign for Europe by means of more normality in intrastate relations and mutual obligingness.

Wolfgang Mischnick said that he is following the most recent developments in the GDR with great interest. There is much agreement with what Egon Krenz is saying. It is true that the most important thing remains that peace should emanate from German soil. Holding fast to treaty policy is also beyond doubt. As before, he is pleading for close cooperation between the two German states for the well-being of the people and is looking hopefully at what is happening in the neighboring country, his original homeland. He has been able to see that a process of maturing has started in the GDR.

He will report to Federal President Richard von Weizsaecker and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and to his party on his impressions of the trip to the GDR and his talks. Egon Krenz noted in this connection that he hopes for good cooperation.

News Conference on Meeting

LD2510143789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1223 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Stability in Europe is essentially dependent on the stability of relations between the FRG and the GDR. This issue was the focus of his talks with the chairman of the Free Democratic Party [FDP] Bundestag parliamentary group, Wolfgang Mischnik, according to GDR party and state leader Egon Krenz.

Following Wednesday's meeting in the official seat of the GDR State Council, Krenz, Mischnik, and the chairman of the Liberal-Democratic Party of German (LDPD), Manfred Gerlach, spoke with journalists from home and abroad. It was a very good talk, Egon Krenz noted.

The GDR is prepared to completely fulfill the Basic Treaty. But it must be taken into account thereby that a joint communique had been signed in September 1987. This document should also be implemented. Egon Krenz stressed that our hand is extended for good-neighborly relations. Equality is a precondition for this.

Mischnik confirmed that these issues had played a large role. At the same time, he had been informed on the future development in the GDR, for example on travel possibilities. He had noted with satisfaction that the problems still present in this field, concerning citizens who wanted to return to the GDR as well, must be solved. And all that would happen in a legally irreproachable form, so that the corresponding building of trust in this manner would be possible.

He had also raised questions concerning further economic development. It had become clear thereby that performance incentive is an important problem, whereby he had stated his readiness to give the necessary support. In this connection, thoughts on acquiring foreign currency for the GDR for the expansion of tourism, which he held to be very important, should be initiated, as well as ways to improve the infrastructure together.

According to Mischnik, the proposed expansion of direct relations between the LDPD and the FDP had also played a role.

Egon Krenz interjected that no problem had been left out during the talk. He was in complete agreement with what his partner had said. With reference to travel regulations, he pointed to the report on the Politburo session the day before, which recommended to the Council of Ministers to work out as quickly as possible a draft law which can then be discussed among the people and decided on in the People's Chamber. In this matter the principles were that every citizen should be able to have a passport and acquire a visa. I say openly, stressed Egon Krenz, that there are no easy questions concerning this. They had also played a role in the talk. Among them was of course the problem of respect for the state citizenship of the GDR, but also the question of the economic solution. He was of the opinion that much could be solved if one approached matters in a very cooperative way. Very practical solutions were possible with objective, equal cooperation.

Asked about a possible meeting between Krenz and Kohl, the GDR State Council chairman expressed his satisfaction on the letter of congratulations which the federal president and the federal chancellor had conveyed to him and added: I am ready for everything, but one should understand that I will address myself now very intensively to domestic political problems. There is much to do. I outlined before the meeting of the Central Committee a program in large contours. That must now be fleshed out. I spoke yesterday in the People's

Chamber on that which concerns the development of the socialist state based on the rule of law. I underlined that we need socialist democracy like air for breathing, that all requires concrete steps and for this reason I also said to Herr Mischnik: I will direct my main accent towards the work of domestic politics.

But, as the invitation to Federal Chancellor Kohl is contained in the joint communique, I can only say, I underline this. You understand that I will speak personally with Federal Chancellor Kohl about everything else. He is interested in a telephone conversation. I hope that will come about soon.

Egon Krenz was asked whether oppositional groups would be allowed in the GDR, to which he replied: Look here, leave aside the concept of opposition! Let us say that there are citizens in the GDR who are giving thought to how we can advance in this country, and we welcome all thoughts. No one is to be excluded from the exchange of thoughts on this. This applies to all citizens, on the basis of the republic's Constitution.

Wolfgang Mischnick added that there were, of course, differing views on the question of whether there was or was not a duty to care. We have our basic law; the GDR has its Constitution, he said. However, it is important to find a practical solution and not to get enmeshed in discussions of principle. This was the starting point for his considerations.

The question for him was how to work together usefully, with an economic system such as that of the federal republic so that it was beneficial to both sides. He could see definite possibilities for further development here. He also stated during the talk, Mischnick said, that another very important question was that of how far pluralist development could progress and the extent to which any citizens' opinions could be incorporated in the decision-making process.

Egon Krenz intervened with the remark: I have told Mr Mischnick that there are two principles, both for internal policy and for foreign policy dialogue. First, our country is, and will remain, a socialist country. There can be no doubt of this; socialism is non-negotiable. I believe that Mr Mischnick also has made it clear that he is not considering this at all. Second, this country is a sovereign country. The decisions to be made must be made here, by our government, by our state organs, by our citizens. They must be made jointly.

Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach drew journalists' attention to his talk the day before with Wolfgang Mischnick, which had lasted several hours. Policies of peace, disarmament, and good-neighborliness, and the development of state relations were discussed and how one thereby could support that on a party basis. It was good when people came together, spoke openly about problems, and searched for ways to find mutual understanding, to see mutual advantages.

His party had had relations with the Free Democrats for decades. That had proven itself again and now had paid off, as it had done in previous stages of development.

During the course of the news conference, the FDP parliamentary leader was asked to give his own characterization of his host. Mischnick said: Herr Krenz is a partner in talks—and we have had our first intensive talks—with whom it was possible to achieve very open talks within the shortest period of time and who also addressed things he considers necessary. His impression was Egon Krenz put forward his cause, which of course, differed from his, Mischnick's, cause in many things, with conviction. Krenz was prepared not only to listen; but also to draw conclusions from suggestions, pointers, and critical remarks. Mischnick added that dialogue only had a point if both partners were prepared not only to listen but also to consider what conclusion had to be drawn from it.

Wolfgang Mischnick was asked, to general amusement, whether he knew if his partner was able to play skat [a card game]. Mischnick answered: Whoever is able to play skat can, in any case, count to three, and can go to infinity when bidding and is capable of making something good out of a bad hand, but he has to take care that he does not just bid for skat. That can then mean that one is not on top of the matter. Whoever asserts all this as a politician is already in a good position. Egon Krenz took up this assessment and said: I think I can make a good hand out of a bad one. Otherwise, I prefer running to playing skat because you are on the move and politics requires movement.

Manfred Gerlach was asked, finally, about the new status of the alliance of the parties in the GDR, about which Egon Krenz had spoken. The LDPD chairman made it clear that his party was pursuing an independent policy within the alliance, serving socialism and the population. This included the discussion of contradictions, of differing opinions. That perhaps, would be more the case than in the past. His longstanding relations with Egon Krenz also would provide a good guarantee of the cooperation being even more fruitful in the future. Regarding the behavior of the LDPD in the People's Chamber, Gerlach remarked that there was the intention of creating a socialist parliament that observed its role much more than up to now.

Egon Krenz added that the people should be able to understand what was going on in parliament. Therefore, the debates must be about the real problems. It was necessary to conduct the argument, the constructive exchange of views in such a way that they led to solutions. All party chairpersons were ready for this.

Asked about further changes, elections, for example, Egon Krenz said that all experiences of elections up to now would be reappraised. In preparation for the People's Chamber elections in 1991, these experiences would be fundamentally analyzed and conclusions would be drawn.

Wolfgang Mischnick has been staying in the GDR for a visit since last week. He had talks with Hans Modrow, first secretary of the Dresden area executive, and with representatives of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, among others.

Krenz Assesses Talks

LD2510115589 Hamburg DPA in German 1056 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR state and party leader Egon Krenz has reaffirmed that there will be reforms in the GDR and early, radical provisions for facilitating travel.

After a talk with the chairman of the Free Democratic Party group in the Bundestag, Wolfgang Mischnick, Krenz told the press in the East Berlin State Council building today that relations with the Federal Republic were also to be extended further. From the GDR side, "the hand is extended for good neighborly relations," said the new head of state.

Krenz and Mischnick agreed in their assessment of the talk, which lasted over 90 minutes, as very open and positive. Mischnick said that he had the impression that the policy now introduced in the GDR was not a tactical one, but one which would be consistently continued.

Also under discussion were the provisions for facilitating travel announced by the Socialist Unity Party in the German Politburo yesterday, which were not yet drawn up and passed as law. Krenz and Mischnick referred to as-yet-unresolved foreign exchange matters, but pointed out that efforts were being made to achieve rational solutions to this.

Krenz was questioned by journalists about the opposition, particularly the "New Forum," and about the Wall. The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leader said, "Leave aside the concept of opposition." He made it clear that even the members of such non-state groupings are among those citizens who are considering how to advance in the GDR. "I include all citizens" in the exchange of views and dialogue. "Nobody will be excluded," eespecially nobody standing on the ground of the socialist constitution, Krenz reaffirmed. It is important in the internal and foreign policy of the GDR that it is, and remains, a socialist and sovereign state.

Krenz was asked whether the Wall could be pulled down, since in any case everyone would soon be able to travel. He expressed himself cautiously here, and referred to the fact that travel and other matters are in the foreground. Moreover, the Wall was build for reasons other than many in the West chose to understand.

The announced relaxations in travel restrictions are, in Mischnick's view, a "positive indicator." It is now important for the GDR leadership to conbtinue to win back the trust it has lost. According to Mischnick, there was also discussion of the possibility of return for GDR citizens, and the legal settlement of this.

Krenz again alluded to possible changes in electoral legislation for the People's Chamber elections in 1991. Proposals from the population will also be taken into account on this. In response to a question about when there will be "free elections" in the GDR, Krenz also said: "I did not have the impression that we had unfree elections."

In all plans for the future, one should "not rush at anything," said Krenz. Everything should be well-considered and taken "step by step." It is his principle not to make any promises.

LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] Chairman Gerlach agreed with Mischnick that the contacts between the two liberal parties are positive. This has had a very positive effect on Mischnick's visit to the GDR and his talks there. Gerlach underlined the fact that the LDPD is "an independent party." It will continue to point out contradictions and problems in the GDR and to cooperate constructively in the further development of the GDR and in reforms. [passage omitted]

Mischnick is the first Western politician that Krenz has received following his election to the posts of Socialist Unity Party of Germany chief and chairman of the State Council. [passage omitted]

Krenz and Mischnick assessed their discussion as very open and positive. Krenz stressed that there will be a change in the GDR, with reforms and, soon, radical easing of travel restrictions. Mischnick said that he has the impression that in the GDR the shortcomings and errors of the past have been recognized and changes are seriously desired. With Krenz, a pluralist development has been introduced; he wants to conduct the dialogue with all groups that based themselves on the constitution.

Mischnick said that the process of reform that has got under way is irreversible. He does not share the opinion that Krenz is a transitional man. The new head of state is a very ambitious and self-confident man who is aware of the seriousness of his task and is approaching it with committment. It cannot be known if Krenz will succeed. But the manner in which he is tackling his task and is presenting his policy in public shows "that he will make use of his opportunity." From his talks Mischnick cannot confirm reports that East Berlin wants to release political prisoners who are in prison for [attempting to] flee the republic before Christmas. [passage omitted]

FRG Party Leader's Statement Denounced

LD2610131889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1243 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A spokesman of the GDR Interior Ministry Thursday called the ambitions announced by the head of the neo-Nazi "Republikaner," Schoenhuber, to form his party in the GDR as well a provocative presumption. The spokesman noted to ADN that the development of neo-Nazi groupings in the GDR has been blocked forever by the Constitution and the will of the people. People of the SS-man Schoenhuber's type had no chance in the socialist GDR, which arose and grew on antifascist foundations.

Schoenhuber had asserted on the same day in the FRG paper DIE WELT that his party intended to organize in the GDR. That was "self-evident for a party seeking the reunification of Germany." As ADN learned further, the complete force of the law would be applied if neo-Nazis should attempt to become active anywhere in the GDR and to distribute their provocative material. With reference to Schoenhuber's announcement that he intended to travel to the GDR, it was said that the controls at the state borders were also in the future the guarantee of securely protecting the citizens of the country from the activities of FRG neo-Nazi organizations.

FRG 'Partly Responsible' for Poor Conditions

AU2510192589 Frankfurt/Main
FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU
in German 25 Oct 89 p 10

["Not Only in the East Many Will Things Have To Be Reconsidered"]

[Text] The controversy about the FRG's "duty to care for all Germans" has been smoldering between the two German states for decades. The governments of both countries do not give up their opposing standpoints. In his first speech Egon Krenz, the new chief of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and State council chairman, again called for the "full recognition of the GDR citizenship" by the FRG. The fact that not only rigid SED representatives insist on this attitude but also progressive forces in the GDR are thinking about the logic of the "duty to care for all Germans," is demonstrated by the following ideas of a co-initiator of the new Social Democratic Party in the GDR, SDP, from Dresden (his name is known to the editors). The text was written before the change in leadership in East Berlin:

The stream of refugees from the GDR is slowing. The SED Politburo has put on the emergency brake.

The 16 million people who remain in the smaller and poorer German state are paying a high price for the mass exodus of their neighbors and relatives. The quality of living of those who stay has tangibly deteriorated.

Now the last country of the world, to which we could travel at any time and without particular problems, has been closed to us. The loss of this last bit of freedom of travel is bitter for all of us in the GDR.

The decrease in the quality of medical care is dramatic in some places because of the suddenly missing doctors and nurses.

In many other areas of life, whether in short-distance traffic or in services of any kind, things get bogged down now even more than before. The considerations that come from the West to us about how good the influx of "young blood" is for the pension funds over there, fills a 47-year-old man like me with rage and anger. Who will work for our pensions? The tactlessness of some people in the West is unbelievable!

Without wanting to justify the policy of patronizing and lack of freedom in the GDR in the slightest way, one does have to note: because of its one-sided understanding of the so-called "duty to care for all Germans," the FRG is partly responsible for this loss of living quality for the Germans in the GDR. When we speak of a duty to care for all Germans, this should always mean all Germans and not only those who manage to reach the West. A responsible Germany policy also has to keep an eye on the welfare of the people in the GDR and promote this instead of letting it deteriorate.

There is the indisputable premise: It is impossible for 16 million Germans from the GDR to move to the FRG. On the contrary. The large majority of these 16 million will want to or have to continue to live in the GDR.

Therefore, the assets have to be weighed.

Should the right to free emigration and permanent residence in the other German state for a minority have priority over the right of the majority to a tolerable living conditions? Should the personal advantage of a few be fulfilled at the cost and to the disadvantage of the many?

I admit that this is a bitter, a desperate question, because every man has the claim to being granted both rights. But if the above-mentioned premise is correct, at the moment only one of the two rights can be implemented for all. Everyone who wants to know this, knows the historical reasons for this need. The facts, which are the results of the war that was started by Germany, cannot be outmaneuvered.

On the other hand, it is not solely the fault of the SED that there is a bigger and richer Germany beside a smaller and poorer one.

Even a successful reform policy in the GDR would not be able to change this situation fundamentally. The differences in prosperity could be reduced but not eliminated. Besides, luxury of the Western kind is not a human right, but a sacrilege committed on the natural bases for living of our world. So far Western pathos has had few results for the GDR, it has rather done us harm. Pragmatism, on the other hand, has made various things possible. Thus, should the West recognize the GDR citizenship. More precisely even if more convolutely, the question must be: Should the West grant German citizenship only to the Germans who live in the FRG but not to the Germans who want to move to the FRG from other states?

No one can say whether there would be a majority among the GDR population for recognizing their citizenship. This question must remain open as long as really free formation of opinion is not possible in the GDR.

It seems certain to me that many people in the GDR would feel completely abandoned by the West, if the West were to recognize the GDR citizenship at the current time.

Nevertheless, I think that a different practice in the question of citizenship is urgently necessary. The FRG would not have to give up its basic claim that all Germans are entitled to the rights and freedoms set down in its Basic Law. But there can indeed be modifications that are enforced by the historical development; not because there are first-class and second-class Germans, but for the sake of the goal to achieve the same rights and freedoms really for all Germans at some time in the future. Everything that does harm to this goal is to be refrained from.

Some goals can be reached only on a roundabout way. Specifically, this could mean that GDR citizens would get no or only a temporary work permit in the FRG. There should be exceptions for those people who have been expelled form the GDR against their will and for politically persecuted people.

The churches have put this into practice for their priests for decades. For ethical reasons, it should be equally self-evident for doctors not to leave their patients. If an FRG government should manage to make itself carry out such procedures sooner or later, the people in the GDR would of course expect the simultaneous start of traffic between the two German states without compulsory visas.

It should be the goal of a "duty to care for all Germans," which is understood correctly, to pursue a policy, which contributes to having the Germans in the GDR granted comparable civil rights and freedoms to the ones of the Germans in the West as soon as possible. If in this way the citizenships of the bigger and the smaller Germany become indistinguishable, the question of mutual recognition will no longer be a subject for controversy.

Dresden, 6 October 1989.

Krenz Receives USSR's General Snetkov

LD2510193689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1822 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The alliance and cooperation between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the CPSU is one of the fundamental conditions for the successful advance of the GDR on the path of socialism. This was affirmed by SED General Secretary Egon Krenz on Wednesday in a talk with the supreme commander of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces, Army General Boris Snetkov, in the Central Committee building.

At the same time Krenz underlined the resolution of the GDR and its armed forces in accordance with the joint defense doctrine to do justice at all times to its alliance obligations within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty to reliably secure peace and socialism. The unilateral disarmament initiatives of the GDR—the dissolution of six tank regiments and an air squadron—were assessed by Krenz as another expression of the concurrence of word and deed in the politics of his country.

Army General Snetkov, who conveyed to Krenz on behalf of the Western group of the USSR Armed Forces warm congratulations on his election as SED general secretary, State Council chairman, and chairman of the National Defense Council, gave information on the great efforts of the members of the Western Group of the USSR Armed Forces in safeguarding a high defense capability and securing peace under the conditions of unilateral reductions.

The Soviet military figure explained that the reduction measures of the Soviet Army are running as planned in accordance with the disarmament initiatives of the USSR. Two tank divisions, two air squadrons, one training regiment, three air landing battalions and other units have been transferred from the sovereign territory of the GDR to the Soviet Union.

The total numbers of troops and weapons withdrawn so far are 1,988 tanks, 169 pieces of artillery, 126 airplanes, and 11,416 men.

Army Gen Snetkov gave an assurance that the brotherhood-in-arms between members of the Western group and the NVA [National People's Army] will be deepened and the fraternal bond between the two armies further consolidated.

During the talks, in which the GDR's defense minister, Army Gen Heinz Kessler, took part, Krenz gave an extensive briefing on the results of the Ninth Session of the SED Central Committee. In this context he stressed that the SED is an experienced militant alliance. It has always stood at the head of the socialist revolution in our country and has led all social changes. That is the way it will be this time too.

PRC Trade Union Delegation Visits Berlin

AU1810145189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "PRC Trade Union Delegation in Berlin"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the All-Chinese Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), headed by Secretary Zhang Fuyon, arrived in Berlin on Sunday [15 October] at the invitation of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB]. At Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport the guests were cordially welcomed by Fritz Roesel, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB National Executive Council.

During their several-day visit, the delegation members will hold talks with leading trade union functionaries and visit enterprises and facilities to acquaint themselves with the work of the FDGB and the trade union representation of interests.

Mueckenberger Receives CPC Delegation

AU1810172989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "CPC Delegation Received in Berlin"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [16 October] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the SED Central Party Control Commission, received a CPC delegation headed by Fu Jie, member of the Standing Committion of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission at the CPC Central Committee. During the friendly meeting a vivid exchange of views and experiences was held, which focused on topical tasks of the SED and the CPC in the further building of socialism.

Nguyen Van Linh, DKP's Mies Greet Krenz

AU2410205989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Greetings to Egon Krenz From Fraternal Parties"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—The leading figures of further fraternal parties have congratulated Egon Krenz on his election as general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Herbert Mies, chairman of German Communist Party [DKP], noted that the DKP is convinced that, in alliance with the workers class and the entire population, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will master the difficult tasks with the objective of further strengthening socialism on German soil. [passage omitted]

Nguyen Van Linh stated that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is firmly convinced that, on the basis of the revolutionary traditions of the workers class and on what had been achieved in the past 40 years under the leadership of the SED, it will be possible to overcome the current problems and to successfully continue the construction of socialism.

Horn Greets GDR's Fischer on Ties Anniversary

LD2110021289 Budapest MTI in English
1515 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of full diplomatic relations between Hungary and the German Democratic Republic, a message of greetings was sent by Gyula Horn, Hungarian foreign minister to Oskar Fischer, foreign minister of the GDR.

Trade Minister Beck Denies Rumors of FRG Loan

LD1810192989 Budapest MTI in English
1312 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—While confirming that he explored the possibility of further West German loans to Hungary during his week-long visit to the FRG, the Hungarian Minister of Trade Tamas Beck denied rumours that an agreement worth 500 million DM loan had been reached.

Hungary has already received 1 billion DM loan this year from Bonn.

However Mr Beck said that his negotiating partners did not reject out of hand the idea of a new loan.

In a statement published in the Thursday edition of the weekly 'HETI VILAGGAZDASAG', the minister said he had reached agreement for various West German chambers of commerce and manufacturers' associations to open a joint office in Budapest at the beginning of 1990.

Representatives of the Federal Ministry of Economics promised to do their utmost to persuade the EC to grant Hungary the general system of preferences as soon as possible, Mr Beck said.

Preliminary figures put Hungarian-West German trade for this year at around 6 billion DM, well above the 1985 record of 5.3 billion DM. Hungarian exports were 23 percent higher and imports 30 percent higher in the first half of 1989 than over the same period last year.

Horn, SPD's Bahr View Changes in East Europe

LD1910121589 Budapest MTI in English
1119 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, has met with Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The parties held an exchange of views on the process of transformation in Eastern Europe, as well as the international recognition and support of Hungarian reforms. Mr Horn gave a brief on the current developments in Hungary's home affairs. With regard to the Hungarian Socialist Party, he pointed out that the international goals of the new party coincide with the intentions of the government, and expressed the hope that there would be no obstacles to setting up a new type of relationship with the socialist international.

Nemeth, FRG Leader Kohl Exchange Letters

LD2110042989 Budapest MTI in English
2151 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth have exchanged letters.

In his letter, Mr Kohl notes that both his government, and he personally, have from the very beginning declared the policy of firmly supporting the Hungarian historical reforms that are aimed at the heightened enforcement of human rights, political and private initiatives. Hungary has become a part of the reform process of pan-European significance. The decision against the borders that separate, and on freely choosing places of residence have won worldwide recognition and sympathy for Hungary. The way in which you deal with the ethnic minorities, and the conduct shown in the humanitarian affairs, show an example also for other countries of central and Eastern Europe, Mr Kohl wrote.

Mr Nemeth notes in his letter that the moral and financial support which Hungary enjoys from the part of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany has meant considerable assistance for our efforts.

The prime minister states: We strive with all our efforts to fulfil the role of a bridge in the divided Europe.

The Hungarian prime minister expressed the firm resolution of his government to consistently fulfil the obligations that accompany the acceptance of the universal declaration on human rights, and the international covenant on civic and political rights.

Nemeth Receives FRG Prime Minister Spaeth

LD2310152689 Budapest MTI in English
1446 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 23 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth received Lothar Spaeth, prime minister of Baden-Wuerttemberg (Federal Republic of Germany), in his office in Budapest on Monday.

The two politicians held talks on current issues of bilateral relations. They both felt that on the basis of results so far, all the signs argue well for further cooperation.

Warsaw Pact General Secretary Ends Visit

LD1810225389 Budapest MTI in English
1954 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Budapeset, October 18 (MTI)—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboimov, current general secretary of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, left Hungary on Wednesday.

The Soviet politician, here at an invitation from the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, met Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Gyula Horn, foreign minister.

Mr Aboimov held talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Istvan Oszi and Deputy Minister Peter Szonyi, head of the International Economic Cooperation Office of the Council of Ministers.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister also met with representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Party and other parties and organizations.

Medgyessy Meets ROK President, Invites Visit

LD2410105689 Budapest MTI in English
0758 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Seoul, October 24 (MTI)—No Tae-u, president of the Republic of Korea, confirmed his intention to visit Hungary during his tour of Europe in the near future. The Korean head of state received Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, currently in South Korea, and members of the Hungarian delegation, such as Zoltan Gombocz, secretary of state for trade, Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, on Tuesday.

No Tae-u stressed the significance of developing political and economic relations. He said that he expected a great deal from his visit to Hungary which would be one of a number of countries, such as the FRG, England and France, he wished to visit.

Peter Medgyessy and his entourage were received by Prime Minister Kang Yong-hun on Tuesday. He emphasized South Korea's readiness to support the Hungarian transformation process. As a palpable sign of this support, he confirmed that the EX-IM Bank of South Korea and other financial institutions would provide considerable loans to develop Hungarian export capacities. Mr Kang also said that they had granted the licenses requested for forming joint ventures. As a result, the Daewoo business group is to set up two joint ventures in Hungary.

Mr Medgyessy also met Kim Woo-yung, president of the Daewoo group. Mr Kim informed him of two joint ventures with the Hungarian Credit Bank Ltd (MHB) to set up Investrade Co, for encouraging investment, with a starting capital of 100 million dollars, and the St. Stephen Hotel Investment JV with the participation of Ganz Danubius, with a starting capital of 90 million dollars.

Szuros Confirms Visit

LD2510202789 Budapest MTI in English
2042 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 25 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, acting president of the Republic of Hungary, met on Wednesday [25 October] Han Tak-chae, ambassador to Hungary of the Republic of Korea. Mr Szuros confirmed the invitation extended to Korean president No Tae-u to visit Hungary in the second half of November.

NEPSZABADSAG Interviews Nyers on Congress

AU2010074189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 14 Oct 89 pp 13-14

[Interview with HSP Chairman Rezso Nyers by Pal Eotvos and Istvan Foldes: "The HSP Is Waiting for Its Members From the MSZMP and Beyond—Nyers Gives Interview to NEPSZABADSAG"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] We are now past an exciting congress rich in debates. How did you live through the 4 days of the congress, its changing moods, and the debates on principles and persons?

[Nyers] I would start by saying that this congress lasted 5 days, not 4, because the afternoon and evening prior to the opening also passed in the spirit of the congress, and the congress itself concluded a few hours after midnight, so it actually drifted into the next day. As for the fluctuations and obstacles in this period, I think that the preliminary coordination of the procedural rules was the first obstacle we had to overcome. Because this was the first time that we have organized a congress in such a democratic form and way, there was uncertainty whether the procedure would not lead to a disorder in the congress due to an exaggerated involvement in matters of regulation, or whether political issues would not emerge in the framework of procedural issues, issues that could cause disturbance precisely because they appear in a hidden form, rather than openly.

[Question] Were you afraid of obstructions?

[Nyers] There was primarily the danger of a party split at this congress, but there was also the danger of obstruction coming from those who wanted to avoid the smooth proceedings at the congress. Others feared that one trend in the congress wants to defeat the other in connection with the rules of procedure.

[Question] In other words, there were people who wanted rules of procedure that would decide everything from the outset.

[Nyers] Yes, for example, the ways of putting the Central Committee report on the agenda was such an issue. The congress could have broken on this issue. Another issue, namely whether the Central Committee members who were not elected as delegates should have voting rights, was less important, but could also have led to political confrontations. We could also mention here the voting procedure, and whether the vote should be carried out on the basis of lists or individual persons. This issue continued to be an issue of debate from the beginning of the congress to its end, despite the decision of the congress to choose voting on the basis of lists. Thus, this also was a factor leading to conflicts. We had to overcome the obstacle of procedure on two rounds.

Agreement After Debates

[Nyers] The first round took place in the evening of 5 October, and finally we overcame this obstacle on the first day of the congress when we had a quite lengthy debate on the procedure, a debate that took up the entire first morning of the congress. I stress that this debate was not merely on a procedural issue, nor did we discuss it as a procedural issue but as a political issue, because, after all, the matter at issue was whether the deputies wanted to stay together.

Of course, overcoming the obstacles took place in spurts because the congress balked a little at the obstacles, and then a quick run-up followed. The Central Committee report constituted the second obstacle. Sparks were flying over this subject, judging from the past 16 months, when a decision had to be taken on what this congress should focus its attention: on the past 16 months, or on the problems of the new party? Of course, we had to look both backward and ahead. However, I must say that the proportions would have been upset here if we had become entangled in a deep analysis of the party policy of the last 16 months, and we lacked an adequate political perspective for a deeper analysis. This would have been a self-tormenting and retrograde congress, rather than one looking into the future.

This dilemma also emerged in other aspects, namely, whether the congress should deal with the party and thus should be an introverted one, or should we open up toward the problems facing the nation and analyze them under a microscope.

This was also an issue of debate: The statute and the procedural issues which naturally appeared as issues of the party's internal democracy turned the attention of the congress inward. On the other hand, the program declaration turned the congress outward, towards a strategy of prospects. Therefore, as a direct continuation of the congress, it is one of the tasks facing the new leadership to turn the attention towards the current important political issues of society. We must take a stand on issues like trade unions, agricultural policy, workers' life, current parliamentary talks, and the problems of the agricultural sphere. In fact, this will be the epilogue of the congress. Although the aforementioned issues were there on the agenda of the congress, the proposals were distributed, and the delegates had the chance to learn these proposals, the limited amount of time, 4 days, delegated to the congress made it impossible to discuss these issues.

There Were Two Main Trends

[Nyers] Returning to the congressional debate, two trends confronted each other there. One trend projected the renewal process of the last 16 months as the correct policy, and thought that a slow process of renewal was necessary. The other trend considered an accelerated and radical reform period to be an essential task, and the creation of a new-type party meant the beginning of this process. This debate also brought fluctuations into the congress. The issue of enterprise party organizations emerged as a sub-issue, and, in my view, not everyone had a correct approach to this issue.

The majority of congressional delegates firmly opposed giving in to the opposition pressure and force and appearing to be weak and retreating. The believers in withdrawal argued that reform that does not lead to eliminating the party organizations in the enterprises is not real reform. In my view, abolishing the party-state system in the economy, including the enterprises, is a basic requirement, and the basic issue here is that there should be no double leadership in the enterprises and factories, that is, there should not be the slightest sign of some kind of commissar-role played by the party organization. This is indeed the basic issue of reform. However, the party leadership had a clear position on this matter earlier too. Therefore, this problem no longer emerged as a means of abolishing the party-state, but rather as a question of whether the National Assembly should create a long-term regulation that would legally stipulate the possibility of political organization within enterprises, and whether we should support this legislation. Thus, I regard this debate as a small deviation, and, thinking of the long term, I must wonder how it is possible to limit political organization within enterprises when legal regulations guarantee the freedom of assembly. This is nonsense. This is not real democracy. On the other hand, if I consider the question whether the party organizations should function in enterprises or within areas, we clearly answered that we should shift the weight of our party to territorial organizations.

One could also see the fluctuations in the congressional mood in the fact that those belonging to the reform alliance were greatly surprised in the first two stages of the congress. They were surprised that the delegates who were not committed to any trend, as well as most of the representatives of the people's democratic forum, spoke in a similar reform spirit as the reform wing. This almost shocked those in the reform alliance because this was highly unexpected. This again led to misunderstandings that also affected the decision on personnel issues.

Who Should Make Up the Leadership?

[Nyers] Solving personnel issues was the other great obstacle that we had to overcome. The question here was the composition of a leadership that can guarantee the creation of a really new and socialist party: a politically completely homogeneous leadership, or only a relatively homogeneous leadership? A complete homogeneous character would have meant that the representatives of a trend should take up the leadership until the next congress, and the other trends should at most play a supervisory role in the framework of the steering committee.

[Question] This contradicts the statement that the party is a unity of platforms.

[Nyers] Yes, this contradicts that statement. However, theoretically, one can imagine that a more homogeneous leadership could make better decisions. However, in my view, this is a theoretical pattern, and the real movement does not make this possible. The other principle, the principle of relative homogeneity took into consideration that we are talking about a broad mass movement capable of sticking to a common denominator concerning the political direction. Of course, in political actions, it is impossible to create an assembly of people who think identically on everything. If contradictions did not appear in the leadership and there were no representatives of alternatives in the leadership, this leadership would fail in everyday politics. Finally, this principle of relative homogeneity was accepted. The reform center, which the composition of the new leadership also represents, emerged on this basis. In my view, this was a very serious debate in which two extremes emerged. One opinion had it that this document makes too many concessions to the detriment of reform policy. The other opinion had it that this platform gives too many concessions to the detriment of real politics.

These differences of opinions then confronted each other at the personnel decisions. Those who said that we should do everything more radically and split from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] without considering ourselves to be its successor party thought that we should create such a leadership. Then, however, this should be a unilateral leadership made up of radical reformers alone. There was also another trend, lesser represented at the congress, which saw great concessions to the detriment of real politics in the compromises reached at the congress. The representatives of these two trends voted against the party program. The 20 percent of votes against the program originated from these two trends.

[Question] What can be the mass support of the wing that accused the congress of making exaggerated concessions to the reformers?

[Nyers] In my view, the presence of this trend was marginal at the congress, about 10-12 percent. In my view, their proportion is higher among the party members because they are joined by the camp which is shocked by the elimination of the current form of basic organizations, of this community.

[Question] Have these debates led to the departure of Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz from the leadership?

[Nyers] The debates with these two comrades did not begin at the congress; these debates are older than that. There was also talk of their withdrawal before the congress. Neither these comrades, nor I regarded as desirable nominating them for membership in the leading body. The previous leadership, and even the representatives of the reform circles were aware of my opinion in this matter. I must also mention that, during the stormy days of the congress, during the coordination talks, nobody came up with any consideration of including Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz in the leadership.

Besides, in personnel issues, one could notice the delegates' political and personal sympathy also expressed in the various trends, and a desirable leadership image emerged. This also refers to delegates who did not belong to any platform. Not only did platforms negotiate with each other, but so did the various groups of delegates too.

Primarily district and strata considerations emerged among the various groups of delegates, while the other trends were grouped according to platforms. Finally, an image of leadership close to everyone's heart emerged. As it transpired, neither of the trends could defeat the other and make up a list it hoped would gain 51 percent at the congress. Therefore, negotiations started with the aim of reaching a compromise. In this second phase of personnel nomination, the platforms had a coordinated proposal. This third phase in deciding on personnel issues continued a long time. One can say that this phase was the internal debate of various reformers. Those who were for a very cautious and reduced reform policy no longer played a role in this debate. Therefore, this was the internal debate of reformers, and one can complain about this or consider it to be an intolerable phenomenon, but, in reality, such contradictions in tactical issues occur everywhere in the world where there is real politics. I stress that this occurs in tactical issues, and not in real personnel issues because, as I already mentioned, representatives of traditional politics did not participate in this at all. They withdrew and gave up the struggle.

[Question] The question, after all, is to what extent will this new leadership be capable of functioning?

[Nyers] This is a big question, and I cannot start on this based solely on my hopes. In any case, after the first presidium meeting, my opinion is unchanged: This leadership has the opportunity to be able to function, and it did prove to be operational in the first meeting, when not only procedural and strictly organizational issues were on the agenda, but also basic political issues. In fact, neither this new party nor its leadership have yet become forged together. However, I am more than hopeful that this will take place.

Association of Platforms

[Question] On the basis of the congress, is it possible to determine the kind of trends that will be included in the new party? What does it mean that the party is an association of platforms and trends?

[Nyers] The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] will be a party expressing dual thinking and political trends: one gathering around various platforms, and the other gathering around everyday issues and the various evaluation of strata policies [retegpolitikak]. The principled mission of platforms is that they clarify themselves around strategic issues and they have to express the long-term directions of party policy; they have to represent alternatives and organize around these alternatives. Any platform of a different nature will cease to exist very quickly. The Cooperation Platform was such a platform.

Although they organize according to strata, I would not say that strategic issues have no role in the strata platforms; however, issues of everyday life dominate in these strategic issues, for example, the agricultural or workers' platforms, or the health platform. The party is a whole composed of real political and reform policy trends. Reform policy issues are long-term issues. However, for example, the issue of the workers' militia or the issue of the party organization in enterprises are not reform issues but everyday affairs that need solution. Both the platforms and other organizations of real politics always have a place in the party. The art of the political leadership consists in properly balancing these two factors, by taking into consideration the conditions and circumstances of a given period.

[Question] If attention increases towards real issues, like economic issues, and this is inevitable, will this not increase the debate on the priority of realities or reforms?

[Nyers] I think that today the reform policy should be the driving force of our economic policy, and real political consideration should have a restraining role. These roles must not be interchanged. Real political considerations cannot be driving forces, and thus, if these considerations had priority, the reforms would again come to a standstill. I think that we should follow a reform-oriented economic policy because, without this, it is impossible to achieve a structural reform, world market competitiveness, and a full and radical reorganization of our international relations. In the meantime, we must also carry out reforms in our health and social policies, or at least preserve the current level for the time being, for example, in the case of real wages and pensions. This can be a real goal for 1 or 2 years, and we can increase the wages and pensions only after that. In this period, real politics will definitely play a restrictive role, to make sure that the burdens of reforms are acceptable to the people. At the congress, I said that the people should also have something from the reforms; in other words, everyone should have a fair share of the surplus national product achieved through the reforms. If it does not reflect the people's interests, a reform policy will inevitably get into conflict with the people.

[Question] Considerations of reality have always been an obstacle to reforms. I think this is what has run this party down. Consideration of foreign policy, domestic policy, and economic realities have pulled this country down into the quagmire of realities.

[Nyers] I think that a judgment of the real situation and needs of masses was not the starting point, at least not in the seventies, but we failed in properly evaluating our country's economic and political maneuverability, and that was the reason for the slowdown in the reforms.

[Question] The lack of coordination in the relations between the masses and the policy makers is one of the reasons behind the recent constant tension. The MSZMP always struggled with this problem, and its members often criticized the party for making decisions without consulting the party members. Of course in another form, this tension has again emerged in this congress. This time, people claim that this congress has exceeded its mandate. How can we solve this contradiction?

[Nyers] In the current situation, the advance of the congress, as compared with the advance of a great part of the party members was necessary. In cases of such political changes, the leadership has to be ready to make such a decision. Broad masses and the masses of party members have also expressed their dissatisfaction. However, the great responsibility of taking proper measures lies with the leaders. They must be extremely careful to avoid acting in some kind of intellectual avant guard mode, and they should act as leaders of a mass movement. On the other hand, there is a danger that they will fail to make an adequate change because they are too close to the current awareness of the masses.

The HSP and the MSZMP

[Question] May we turn to another area? Namely, the situation following the creation of this party. There are people who question the continuity of the HSP and do not recognize it as a legal successor party. Communist or reform-communist groupings are also emerging. Mostly, one can feel a strong devotion to the MSZMP, and I think that this causes real tension.

[Nyers] Indeed, I also feel that this is the biggest problem today. This shows the opinion of the broad masses of party members and part of the people that, along with strategic mistakes, the MSZMP has also made correct steps in the past 2 decades. A regression has dominated in recent years, and these were many years indeed. Regression has now reached the limit of tolerance, but the masses do not judge this MSZMP period so negatively as those who do so on the basis of the economic strategy. The majority of the party members were not members out of an ambition for power but rather because they simply sympathized with something, perhaps with the ideas, or with the illusion. Political choice on the part of the masses is partly the choice of the mind, and partly that of the heart, and those who chose deep from their heart are now really in a crisis. Therefore, I can say that we are talking about a precious part of the party movement.

I regard the situation of this part of our party members as really dramatic, and we must do our best to find some acceptable solution in this second act and in the third act of this drama; some of them should come over to the HSP, and all of us, every HSP member in his area, should be able to part in peace and keep as many as possible among them as sympathizers and future voters for our party. We must also accept the fact that, if they have to decide, they can also decide not to be members of the new party.

[Question] If the symbols appear on the stage in the second act of the drama, according to the rule of dramaturgy, something must happen to these symbols in the third act. The HSP has been created, and the MSZMP exists and does not exist. What role will this circumstance play in the third act?

[Nyers] Now is the time of separation. While earlier I said about the entire MSZMP that the real danger lies in separating in the middle rather than in spliting, now that a new reform center emerged in the form of the HSP, the solution is that this reform center should separate from those whose ideas or feelings are incompatible with this center, either from the viewpoint of a bourgeois-type reform, or from the viewpoint of a traditional communist concept. At the beginning, the reform communists struggled for the return to Leninism from Stalinism; today, they have a bigger and more integrated concept, and they are seeking the way for a lasting, and long-term integration in world socialism. Such reform communists have a place in the socialist party, just like, in my opinion, the social democrats who feel that they can really express their social democratic character and goals in a socialist party.

As for the traditional communists, I think that these people must reorganize themselves elsewhere. Although I do not regard the use of the name MSZMP as legitimate, I regard almost as natural the creation of a traditional communist party under any name, because such a party has a mission in society. In my congressional address, I said that, among other things, we are not, and we should not be a communist party because we must assert the interests and long-term efforts of wider strata of society, not only of those belonging to a traditional communist movement.

Registration

[Question] Is not the deadline established for registration too short?

[Nyers] A compromise has also been reached on the issue of registration. Originally, many of us did not want to set up a deadline. At the same time, it is also true that the establishment of the party should be carried out quickly. This demands a deadline, and this is the problem, and not the fact that it cannot be done. This demands an almost superhuman organizational activity on the part of the community, the communities of party members to carry this out properly; on the other hand, this gives a relatively short thinking time for the party members. Perhaps the problem is that the choices are unclear. If there were a communist party which clearly presented itself as it is, the people would see and would choose either this or that, or would stay out of both parties. The choice would thus be more certain. However, the people do not see the alternative now. They will register or stay out of everything, but all this could cause a lot of anguish. Nevertheless, I still say that there are advantages to a quick establishment of the party. If we excessively delay such a process, this will only lead to a disintegration of communities, and to a long-term uncertainty. Therefore, the way I see it, the problem does not lie so much in speed. It is desirable to solve this within 3 weeks, but, truly, if it had been possible to solve this without such a deadline stipulated by the congress, perhaps it would have been better. In any case, we do not regard this deadline as something that makes it impossible for anyone who did not register by that time to become a member of the socialist party. It will also be possible to join the party after this deadline.

[Question] What size party do you expect?

[Nyers] I was also asked that question on television, and I was reluctant to answer this question at that time too. However, the reporter succeeded in forcing me to come up with a number. I can say the same now. I bet on some 300,000 or 500,000 members, but this is nothing more than a bet, not a forecast. The situation today is so unpredictable. I heard—and NEPSZABADSAG also carries such news—that, in some places, young people declare that they will gladly join the new party, and this party seems attractive to them. Therefore, there will be a joining process, and there is also a leaving process under way. Obviously, the leaving process is dominant today; however, it is impossible to predict today the extent of this process and the number of people who will leave the party under a spiritual shock, as well as the extent of the opposite process. I met with a comrade today who left the party at the beginning of 1988, and he told me that he would return.

Possibilities of a Coalition

[Question] What are the domestic policy strength of the new party and its relations with other parties expected to be?

[Nyers] Obviously, these will be different in the period when we are just leaving the party-state behind us and are laying the foundations of the new political relations, and different when the institutions of political democracy are already established and all the major participants in the political life have to turn toward economic problems much stronger than today. I think that in the first period, there will be narrow possibilities for cooperation between parties. It is desirable that they make use of this narrow possibility too. This can be expressed in the agreement on the constitution reached at the tripartite political talks, as well as in the things that are still needed to emerge in the tripartite economic talks. There is a need for some kind of basic compromise solution to make sure that neither party has a political attitude of deepening the crisis, because this would cause great damage. In addition, economic reforms will have to be carried out irrespective of the proportions of the future political structure in the country. We should start the coordinating negotiations on the economic reform, although I know that it is not certain that we can come to an agreement even on the concepts.

A new phase will begin around the elections and after the elections. In this period, in my opinion, the main question is what political alliances should emerge concerning the economic reform policy, including the foreign policy. Then—and I am almost certain in this—some kind of political coalition will have to emerge by all means. Today it is still impossible to say how broad this alliance should be and who should participate in it. In any case, the extremists—both the right-wing and left-wing extremists—will not be suitable to participate in a coalition. Thus, either a left-center or right-center alliance will emerge, or a definitely right-wing government could emerge. Although it is possible in principle, such a right-wing government is hardly desirable for the country, and it would mean a difficult accommodation here in Eastern-Central Europe, and it would be less suitable to preserve a relative social peace in the period of sharing the burdens of a policy of stabilization. A right-center coalition, or worse, a right-wing government would not be able to agree with the trade unions, the masses of workers, and even with the masses of peasants. Such a government would not be able to create a proper social partnership, and the country needs such a partnership. A left-center coalition is much more capable of such a thing. Such a double-engined coalition would be capable of implementing the reform policy by accepting conflicts and simultaneously preserving social peace.

What Reactions Are Coming From Abroad?

[Question] Gorbachev's telegram, Napolitano's statement, the opinion of the French socialists, and the announcement on Craxi's visit to Budapest already show the reaction of the international communist and socialist movements. How would you sum up the current and expected international reactions to the creation of the HSP? Your words concerning the Socialist International have created a great sensation. Would you give us some details about this?

[Nyers] The creation of the HSP has been followed with a wide international interest. Serious international political forces generally expect positive development from reform processes like ours in Eastern Europe. These forces are not very much interested precisely in the composition of the party we are talking about. Of course, they are interested in the nature of the party, not as socialists, but as global strategists. They evaluate the changes under way in Hungary as something that is now bringing Hungary in a situation to provide a model example for a reform-oriented democratization in Eastern Europe which, they expect, would lead to an easing of global confrontation. The other, more conservative view does not expect a serious easing effect from the internal ferment in Eastern Europe, but it analyzes the changes from the viewpoint of the Soviet-U.S. relations, the future of negotiations, and the possibility of settling the critical issues in the world, and how all this affects the tasks facing the Soviet Union. Strangely enough, those having this opinion are strongly worried about a possible destabilization in Eastern Europe and they fear that this will force the Soviet Union to drift toward a tougher policy.

I must also mention the opinion of the socialist left-wing global strategists. The socialists and communists in Western Europe, especially the Italian, Finnish, Spanish, and West German ones, clearly welcome these changes. I experienced that during my two meetings with Hans-Jochen Vogel, and during my meetings with Willy Brandt, and with other German social democrats, and with the Italian socialists and communists. For example, I have just received a greetings telegram from Genscher which also praises the extremely positive nature of this process. According to Western reactions, the HSP is moving toward the European left-wing movement. I recently met with three chairmen of the Socialist International, and I will meet with Hans-Jochen Vogel for the third time on 14 October. As I see it, the entire Socialist International is following the Hungarian and Polish political changes with particular attention and sympathy, and clearly regards the Hungarian political changes as being more mature, changes that have almost taken a completed form. We are striving to establish organic contacts with the Socialist International, and we feel—and I definitely feel this—that we are now doing this on the basis of a politicl foundation that will fully adjust us to the principled and political framework of the Socialist International in such a way that, this time, we will not have to separate from the reform trend of the communist movement. I will mention here that approaching the Socialist International is not particular only to Hungary. The CPSU was also represented at the congresses of the Socialist International.

[Question] Thank you for the interview, and we wish you good and successful work and good health!

HSP's Toth Interviewed on Party Membership

LD1810211189 Budapest MTI in English
1559 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—"So far, no exact figures are available about how many members of the former HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] have enrolled in the Hungarian Socialist Party," MTI was told by Andras Toth, HSP representative. "What's certain, though", he added, "is that in the days after the congress, the number of people signing up to confirm their HSP membership was in the tens of thousands".

Enrollment can be made not only at party organizations operating in places of employment, but also at regional, city and district party committees, including HSP headquarters in Jaszai Mari Square, Budapest.

Mr Toth continued by saying that several invitations have already been addressed to the members of the Hungarian Socialist Party's Presidium, asking them to give a briefing on the HSP's manifesto and aspirations. Canvassing rallies are being held by the HSP throughout the country.

Mr Toth also spoke about the members of the party's Presidium, who—with the exception of party employees Jeno Kovacs and Pal Vastagh—carry out their duties on a voluntary basis. The official Mercedes is used only by the party president, who is also protected by government guards. The party's assets are now being looked after by a committee authorised by the party's Presidium.

Asked what the HSP's position was regarding the convening of the HSWP's 14th congress—as already reported, Robert Ribanszki announced the related intentions at a rally held some days ago—Mr Toth said, "We do not consider this a fair decision either politically or legally. It would be a disruptive measure, an endeavour to form a new party," Mr Toth concluded.

HSP Presidium Member Criticizes Composition

LD1810231689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1750 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] One of the members of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium has said that the body's composition is not ideal, for it was born out of compromises. Lajos Menyhart, who was formerly first secretary of the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party] Debrecen committee which was wound up yesterday, made a statement in the HADJU-BIHARI NAPOLO. In reply to critical remarks about him, he said that he had never questioned the fundamentals of the new party's program statement. In his opinion, the congress had not debated this document in substance. Lajos Menyhart added that he accepted the HSP's program because it set democratic socialism as the aim.

Nyers Chairs Socialist Party Presidium Session

LD1910104689 Budapest MTI in English 0902 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—The National Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) held a session on Wednesday [18 October] evening with Rezso Nyers in the chair. The body discussed the current political questions relating to the session of the National Assembly. It also held a debate on the agrarian policy of the party. They accepted that the agrarian section of the party will publish debate material on the subject.

The body decided on the distribution of work among the members, approved the membership card of the party, which is to be forwarded to each branch organization before November 8 in the required number.

Under a congressional resolution, the presidium set up an experts' committee to clear up the material and technical conditions required for the operation of the party, and to hold talks in the matter with representatives of the National Assembly and the Council of Ministers.

Pozsgay Speaks on Party Cooperation at Rally

LD1910060589 Budapest MTI in English 2334 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—The Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] wishes to plan the future of the country together with all political parties that rest on constitutional bases, be they either opposition or governing parties, Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSP Presidium and minister of state, candidate of the new party for the post of president of the Republic, said. Mr Pozsgay was the speaker at a political rally on Wednesday evening in Nyiregyhaza.

Mr Pozsgay said the HSP accepts open political fight amidst the pluralist conditions so that the country can become European. He discussed the importance of creating a market economy, stressing that this is a condition for the country to attain a welfare society. However, property reform also has to be carried out for this.

Council of Ministers Session Continues

Discusses Budget

LD2010195589 Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—Continuing the session that began on Monday, but was not completed in view of the many points of the agenda, the Council of Ministers on Friday discussed the theses of the laws on the National Bank of Hungary, on socio-economic planning, and on the state budget.

The Council of Ministers discussed the guidelines of the economic policy programme for 1990, and of the 1990 budget. It heard a report on the regulation of health care and social-welfare ventures, on improving the operation and income-generating capability of the agricultural units that face a critical situation, and on the state of food retail trade.

The government reviewed implementation of the Yamburg cooperation, and the further tasks arising from the Hungarian-Soviet cooperation agreement.

Adjourns Session

LD2110222589 Budapest MTI in English 2101 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 21 (MTI)—Presided by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, the Hungarian Council of Ministers adjourned on Saturday its "marathon session", which commenced on October 16 and met in daily sessions during the National Assembly. According to the motion presented by the National Planning Office and the minister of finance, the ministers surveyed and passed the guidelines of the economic policy programme for 1990-1992 and next years state budget.

The government also passed the motion on the celebration to be held on the day the Hungarian Republic is proclaimed, to take place on Monday, October 23, at midday on Kossuth Square. The festive event of historical importance will be attended by parliament officials, members of the Council of Ministers, the representatives of the various political parties and movement, social and mass organisations and heads of the diplomatic missions in Budapest. The October 23 copy of the Hungarian

OFFICIAL GAZETTE (MAGYAR KOZLONY) will contain the law proclaiming the country's new form of state and it will enter into force on this date.

Members of the government were briefed on the tasks ahead concerning the disbanding of the Workers Militia. A resolution was passed on the public and central utilisation of the militia's frozen assets, as early as possible.

Verification of Referendum Signatories Begins

LD1810211289 Budapest MTI in English 1808 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—The verification of the signatures to the petition organized by the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) calling for a referendum began on Wednesday. The State Office for the Registration of the Population (ANH) is responsible for the checking.

The petitions containing 140,000 signatures were handed over on Wednesday to the Office of the National Electoral Board, where the voting right of each of the signatories will be verified according to the personal identification number.

Andras Kery, director of ANH, said that the work is expected to be completed by the end of next week. The lists will then be returned to the electoral board for verifying the authenticity of the signatures. The fairness of this procedure is to be supervised by lawyer Gyorgy Antalffy.

Lajos Papp, president of the National Electoral Board, said that the petitions inspected so far conform to the criteria set down according to the law. They include the following questions: Should the party organizations leave places of work?, Should the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] (HSP) give an account of its assets?, Should the election of the president of the republic take place after the free parliamentary elections?, Should the workers' militia be disbanded?, And do signatories want a referendum to be called?. The lists also contain the necessary personal data of the signatories.

Mr Papp also told MTI that after the lists are returned by ANH to the electoral board, this latter body is to verify the authenticity of some of the signatures. Provided that a hundred thousand signatures prove to be authentic, the endorsed documents will be passed back to parliament. The whole verification process must be completed within 30 days by the board.

The petition campaign was termed as 'fair' by Miklos Haraszti, caretaker of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), who added that, in view of the fact that the integrity of the campaign has been called into question by some, the SZDSZ will continue collecting until they have two times the stipulated amount of signatures.

Mr Antalffy said that since the number of signatures exceeds the necessary amount, it can be taken for granted that the required number of signatures (100,000) necessary for the calling of a referendum is already available.

Independent Deputies Hold News Conference

LD1810233189 Budapest MTI in English 2145 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 18 (MTI)—The group of independent MPs [Members of Parliament] held a press conference on Wednesday in Parliament.

Karoly Eke, MP for Csongrad County and president of the group, said that they wished to counter-balance the predominance of HSWP-member MPs. Until recently, three-quarters of MPs were members of the ruling party, but the majority of the population does not participate in any political gathering at present.

The group has 85 members, which makes it one of the largest political groups in Parliament. It was decided at their recent refounding session that they would decide on debated issues with a majority vote. There was full agreement, for instance, that parties should withdraw from workplaces. Their position on the workers' militia was that it should be dismantled without a legal successor.

Social Democrat Sees No Change in HSP Policy

AU2010144689 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 20 Oct 89 p 4

[Unattributed interview with Gyorgy Ruttner from the Hungarian Social Democratic Party: "Hungary's SDP: The Communist Party Has Only Changed Its Name"; in Graz, date not given]

[Text] DIE PRESSE: The Hungarian Communist Party changed its name recently and now calls itself the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. Will there be competition between the HSP and the Social Democratic Party [SDP]?

Ruttner: No. This is no real challenge. The way the name was changed made it clear that it has remained the same party. The Communist Party was always good at explaining things. Even its first decision was wrong, namely the decision to maintain the party organizations at workplaces. People should work at their workplaces.

DIE PRESSE: Are there positive aspects to the new party?

Ruttner: Yes. They have admitted that communism has lost the old race against social democracy. On the other hand, the deputies of the congress have tasted democracy, and we social democrats believe that those who have tasted democracy will not forget what it tastes like.

DIE PRESSE: Your party is a member of the Socialist International (SI). Will the HSP also become a member?

Ruttner: The party that is an SI member decides on the membership in the SI of other parties in the country. At present, we see no possibility of admitting the HSP to the SI.

HSP Briefing on Relations With Trade Unions

LD1910104189 Budapest MTI in English
0809 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—The establishment of a democratic state of law and a market-based economy requires the Hungarian Socialist Party's [HSP] rephrasing the main principles of its relations with the trade union movement, said Laszlo Pal, member of the HSP Presidium, at the party's press briefing held on Wednesday evening. The briefing dealt with the HSP position on the alliance between the Hungarian Socialist Party and the trade union movement, and the party document on workers' participation and self-government.

The position declares among other things that the HSP upholds the principle of freedom to organize trade unions. It feels that the best protection for employees' interests is offered by a powerful trade union federation operated on a voluntary basis and embracing the whole movement. Therefore, it supports the initiatives aimed at converting the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT) into a federation of democratically organized and operating unions. As the document points out the HSP regards trade unions, the organizations for the interest protection and representation of employees, as strategic allies. Furthermore, it expresses a readiness to cooperate with new trade unions independent of the trade unions' federation.

The document states that as the individual can only temporarily accept unemployment, the party wishes to pay special attention to the protection of the interests of workers put at a disadvantage in the wake of the restructuring process.

The position says that the HSP recognizes the political and organizational independence of trade unions. In view of all this, the party calls for its members to take an active part in renewing the union movement at places of employment.

Laszlo Pal says that the HSP fully acknowledges the independence of trade unions, which is a novelty in view of the previous practice.

The position of workers' participation and self-government stresses that the Hungarian Socialist Party supports the initiatives launched to set up employees' councils independently from any party interests. Sandor Szili, member of the HSP Presidium, said it was extremely important that the party should clear up its relationship with workers.

In answers to questions at the briefing, it was pointed out that the HSP had not for the time being formed a strategic concept on workers' councils. As regards party operation at workplaces it was said that as political activity was the citizen's fundamental right, it would go against the principle of constitutionality if the party organizations were prohibited to operate at workplaces. Needless to say, political activity would not be carried out during the working hours, and party organizations would have no word in the company's affairs.

SZOT Chief Nagy Holds News Conference

LD2010095489 Budapest MTI in English
1818 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—Hungarian social security should be allowed fully to dispose of its financial resources, and not even the government should be allowed to interfere in its financial management—this is the essence of a letter addressed to Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, and all MPs, by the Presidium of the National Council of Trade Unions (SZOT). SZOT President, Sandor Nagy, MP, informed journalists on the contents of the letter during one of the breaks in Thursday's parliamentary session. The letter also recalls the proposal by Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, that social security—which went independent earlier this year, and already has a certain amount of profit—should pay a one-off aid of 2,000 forints to low-income pensioners at the end of the year, which is somewhat less than a third of the present average monthly salary.

Mr Nagy also confirmed the unofficial information of the journalists that MPs' signatures are being collected by the parliamentary lobby of the trade unions, in order to prevent the government from shifting responsibility to Parliament, on the final decision on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaaros Barrage Project. In the absence of adaquate information or misinformation, on an earlier occasion, MPs have already taken the wrong decision on this issue, Mr Nagy reported. Since then, discussions were held between the government and the experts, and the foreign partners involved. Representatives of the trade union lobby are of the opinion that the legislation is still not in possession of all necessary information required for the decision.

In the course of the parliamentary session, the bill on election of the MPs was presented by the Minister of Interior, Istvan Horvath. In this regard, Mr Nagy stressed that the trade unions would like to nominate an independent MP for the forthcoming parliamentary elections. Because the related bill, in its present form, does make room for this—permitting only the nomination of party candidates—the trade unions are compelled either to nominate an independent candidate or to support the candidate of one of the parties, or even to form an election party.

Court, Insurance Workers Form Own Trade Unions

LD2210020389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Text] Two new trade unions were formed today in Hungary. The court workers and those employed in social insurance founded new interest-protection organizations. At the founding congress of the court workers' trade union, the principle was accepted that the court apparatus, which enjoys the licence of public power, should not strike. However, to counter this, it was suggested that in given cases they should be able to avail themselves of the right to slow down work.

Nemeth Speaks to Church Council on Policy

LD2110043189 Budapest MTI in English 2105 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20 (MTI)—The government has undertaken to break with the laden inheritance of the past, and wishes to work together with the nation to create a more worthy future, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said on Friday, at the founding session of the national Religious Council, held in parliament. Mr Nemeth spoke about the anti-religious crimes committed by the leadership in the 1950's, the elimination of the autonomy of the churches and denominations. He called it a grave error that the church policy of the past decades maintained the restrictions, interfered into the lives of the churches, and violated their independence.

The prime minister stressed that the state should not merely recognize the right of religion, but should safeguard it, also with legal guarantees set down in suitable laws. He termed the activity of the churches indispensable in the education of the rising generation, in strengthening moral values. Mr Nemeth said he had requested representatives of the 28 recognized Hungarian churches, denominations and religious communities to participate in the work of the National Religious Council. (Two organizations, the Community of the Hungarian Jehovah's witness, and the Nazarene Assembly, did not wish to participate in the work of the council due to article of faith reasons.)

The council is to operate as a consultative organ of the government, with proposal making right. The government wishes to shape its policy towards the churches on the basis of the proposals formulated by the council.

The prime minister designated as a principle of the new church policy that the legal conditions for the operation of the churches should be ensured with all possible means. This will require to amend laws and enact new ones. A law is under preparation with the aim of regulating the means of returning the former ecclesiastic buildings and institutions to church ownership.

Mr Nemeth said that churches and denominations should be ensured greater scope than to date in mass media.

In the following, participants discussed the bill on the freedom of conscience and religion, and approved a statement in which they condemn all manifestations of hate.

'Trial Edition' of Underground Paper Published

LD2010094489 Budapest MTI in English 2202 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 19 (MTI)—The trial edition of the periodical BESZELO (Mouthpiece) was openly published on Thursday.

This, the best-known periodical of the Hungarian Samizdat press, is coming out into the open precisely eight years after its first publication, BESZELO's editors announced at their press conference on Thursday.

The first copy of BESZELO was compiled in October, 1981, but reached the streets only in early December because of the technical conditions of that time, and fights with police. The periodical was banned, and so issues after that could only be prepared as Samizdats.

At the news conference, the editors said the underground BESZELO was a socio-liberal periodical, and they would like to continue in this tradition. It is very close to the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ), and leading members of the alliance are affiliated to it. They also wish to continue the tradition of regularly reporting about East European democratic movements, with articles written by members of the movements operating in Prague, Warsaw and other cities. For example, the trial edition carries articles by Wojciech Maziarski of Poland, and Erhart Neubert of East Germany.

Two other specimen copies of BESZELO are to come out this year, with the hope that from January it will come out on a weekly basis.

Foreign Employment Regulations Relaxed

LD2010173289 Budapest MTI in English 1413 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 20, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—From now on, regulations relating to the employment of foreign labour in the country concerned will be the only obstacle to the outflow of Hungarian labour: Under a new legal provision by the Hungarian Government, Hungarian citizens wishing to take up employment abroad don't need a work permit any more from the Hungarian authorities.

Hungarian employees working abroad will no longer be obliged to remit 20 per cent of their earnings to Hungary, either. Their obligations to pay pension fund and social security contributions will remain, but they will be entitled to pay these amounts in forints.

Information from the State Office for Wages and Labour reveals that about 2,500 people were granted permits to work abroad last year. Two-thirds of these work in

Western countries, with the rest in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and the GDR, some are stationed in Mongolia.

As a result of the new legal provision, the number of Hungarians employed abroad is likely to go up next year: Estimates put the probable figure at at least 10,000.

Centralized Satellite Reception Introduced

LD1810211389 Budapest MTI in English 1531 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 18, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The radio, television and technical directorate of the Hungarian post office intends replacing the beam aerials on its Budapest transmission tower with special new antennae that broadcast over a wide range.

So far, only a few Budapest hotels have been able to receive satellite broadcasts through the post office. Now, with the help of the new antennae, households and communities that already have a cable tv network will also have access to the system.

The Hungarian post office is licensed to receive the following satellite broadcasts: Sky Channel, MTV Europe, Super Channel, Austrian Channel 1 and the French TV5.

Up to now, households and communities could only pick up satellite broadcasts through satellite dishes they had to install themselves.

Further on Soviet Foreign Minister's Visit

Shevardnadze Assesses Meetings

LD2510152689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1305 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] [Announcer] As announced, we will now broadcast the statements made by Eduard Shevardnadze and Mieczyslaw Rakowski after today's meeting.

[Correspondent] Here is what Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told journalists after his meeting with PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording in Russian, fading into Polish translation] The meeting proceeded in the spirit of traditional, mutual understanding. Only recently, Comrade Rakowski paid a visit to Moscow. He met Comrade Gorbachev. Not much time has passed, but the contemporary world is so dynamic, that there are nonetheless many matters to be discussed, particularly concerning the issue of Soviet-Polish relations. Under present contemporary conditions Comrade Rakowski and I agreed between ourselves that we would review at what stage Soviet-Polish relations presently stand; [and that we would] cover the widest circle of issues in this review: economic, scientific-technical relations, as well as other issues.

We talked about the so-called "blank spots." This is not a new question, by the way. It was tackled earlier at the meeting between Comrades Jaruzelski and Gorbachev. We discussed this subject yesterday with the Council of Ministers chairman and the foreign minister and we agreed that we would examine all these events in a more dynamic way, in order to contribute to establishing the truth and restoring historical truth. The Polish side has no other wish; the Soviet side has no other wish—nor is it striving towards anything else. We only want the truth. It is very necessary to us, to our peoples; and it lies in the interests of our friendship.

Besides bilateral relations, we tackled certain issues of European cooperation, of the common European home, of the prospects for overcoming military confrontation on the European continent; and we discussed conditionally the contribution our parties, our peoples, can make to this historic cause. [end recording]

[Correspondent] When asked about CPSU-PZPR relations, Mieczyslaw Rakowski said:

[Begin Rakowski recording] Relations in every sphere of social or economic life are not static. Life brings new problems all the time and confronts us with the necessity of looking for new forms of cooperation. For example, now that a coalition government headed by a Catholic premier is operating, the question has arisen for the parties: in what way are we to develop our relations with the CPSU, while allowing for an effect on inter-state relations? The Minister has already made note of this. It's hard for (?me) to say today what the new forms of cooperation will be like tomorrow, but it"s certain that new situations create new necessities. In my opinion, one thing is sure—that this is the great Slav wall against which one must lean, I'm quoting Cardinal Wyszynzki this time, because, in so doing, we strengthen the sense of national security. I am immensely glad about what the Minister said about his talks with the Premier. I am immensely glad that a date has been fixed for Mr Mazowiecki's trip [to Moscow], because Poland needs the trip to affirm this very sense of security and the certainty that we are not changing allies, nor are we playing any kind of double game. So, in my opinion, the state of relations today is highly satisfactory, but can always be better and we also talked about that today as well. [end recording]

Ends Talks, Stays for Meeting

LD2510200989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Eduard Shevardnadze, the head of the Soviet diplomacy, has ended an official visit in Poland. [passage omitted] Eduard Shevardnadze will continue to remain in Warsaw. He will take part in the meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of Warsaw Treaty states starting tomorrow.

Interviewed by Warsaw TV

LD2510203889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1900 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Interview with USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by Grazyna Bukowska, not further identified; date, place not given—live or recorded; Shevardnadze speaks in Russian with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Bukowska] Minister, to what extent—in your opinion—does the further development of friendly contacts between Poland and the Soviet Union depend on clearing up the difficult issues linked with the history of our relations, and how much on the changes taking place now in the Soviet Union and Poland?

[Shevardnadze] I think that resolving the problems linked with the past, with all—even the most difficult—period in the history of our relations requires greater responsibility and serious treatment. There has been a great deal of discussion about this both in Polish society and the Soviet Union. These problems were tackled in 1987, at the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and General Wojciech Jaruzelski. They also were discussed yesterday, during my meeting with Premier Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. It also was one of the subjects of my conversation with Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Work is in progress on clarifying and solving the problems concerning the history of our relations. A joint Soviet-Polish commission has been set up, composed of academics and historians. Some of the work has been completed already. Yesterday, however, we came to the conclusion that progress here is too slow, that these activities are not dynamic enough. One does not have to recall, probably, how very sensitive this problem is, and its solution requires great efforts of scientific precision, complete objectivity, and justice. it is now possible to speed up this process. I also would like to add that society and the Soviet authorities, and also the citizens in Poland and the Polish authorities, are immensely interested in getting to the heart of the matter.

When necessary, justice has to be established, but the work on resolving the problems concerning the history of our relations must be based on scientific foundations if we are to say the whole truth to the current and future generations. The truth cannot be established without science. I stress: Such work is in progress, but not as intensively as demanded by the needs of the moment. During my meetings yesterday, there was talk about finding ways of accelerating this process.

[Bukowska] What do you think about opinions, expressed particularly in the West, that the nationalities and economic problems of the Soviet Union are a great danger to perestroyka and Mikhail Gorbachev's policies.

[Shevardnadze] I do not think that such opinions are expressed only in the West. I think that our society also very actively and critically assesses what is happening in the Soviet Union, electors watch with greatest attention the activities of the Supreme Soviet and assess what happens at Congress of the People's Deputies. Elements of polarization of views appear at various levels. I think, however, that this is natural and useful. At a time so historic for the nation and the state, not everything can happen politely and smoothly. The full agreement of all citizens is impossible, the revolution is the revolution.

[Bukowska] With regard to the nationalities issue, what do you think, Minister, about what has been happening in Lithuania recently? About the attempts to limit the arrivals from Poland?

[Shevardnadze] I would like to say something about the nationalities issue in general and about the progress of the precesses you have mentioned. If one were to ask the majority of our society, not to mention our authorities, then no one would have any doubt that the work of the revolutionary renewal of our society and socialism must be continued to its logical conclusion. That was the first point. Secondly, as a result of profound thinking, research, and serious and creative teamwork, we have worked out a new platform for resolving the nationalities problem. A new nationalities policy is working within the party and the state. I think that this joint stance will allow us to resolve all the problems, all of which is connected with the existence of the Russian federation, and will allow us to define the place of every nation, every community that is part of the federation.

Many misunderstandings concerning nationality issues and also connected with our mutual relations arise from the lack of sufficient information on the subject.

[Bukowska] We are talking on the eve of a meeting of the foreign ministers of the states belonging to the Warsaw Pact. What do you think about changes that certainly will occur in the structure of the treaty?

[Shevardnadze] In my opinion, a change of the entire structure is not necessary. It is mainly organizational matters that are involved. Here, no doubt, transformations and some corrections are needed. Generally speaking, the Warsaw Pact up to now has been a military and political agreement. It is not only the name, but also the particular placing of emphases. I think that the Pact gradually should change into a political and military entity, and into a political and defensive entity, for issues related to security in the world will be resolved through political means thanks to increased credibility and trust between states of various orientations. Political issues thus will become the priority in our treaty, as well, although one cannot forget its military function. As long as military blocks exist in the world, we also must concern ourselves with matters related to defense.

In principle, we come out in favor of dissolving military treaties, but as long as they exist, we also must think about the common security of Warsaw Pact memberstates.

[Bukowska] If in the future you think about writing memoirs and describing the time of perestroyka, what would the title of such a book be? Have you ever thought about writing your memoirs?

[Shevardnadze] So far, I have no time to think about memoirs. [laughter]

[Bukowska] You are always travelling. How do your wife and family take it?

[Shevardnadze] We (?often) go to New York, and so far my wife has not submitted a complaint about me to the United Nations, although she has had an opportunity to do so. [laughter]

Interviewed by PAP

LD2610003689 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 25 Oct 89

["Shevardnadze's Interview for PAP; Abridged"—PAP Headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, at the close of his visit to Poland, gave an interview for the Polish Press Agency. Excerpts:

I can now say that this visit is very necessary. We do not differ in that Soviet-Polish relations have a fundamental importance for the Soviet and Polish nations, as well as for stability and peace in Europe. We do not differ in that all that is positive and good, that has been achieved in our relations, should be preserved. We agreed that relations should be developed and should be given more dynamics, especially in economic cooperation. And yet another, very important remark. We speak the same language and we understand each other as regards our fidelity to fundamental agreements.

What is also very important is that we fixed the date of the Soviet visit of the (Polish) chairman of the Council of Ministers. I have no doubt that the visit, to take place in the last ten days of November, will have a very essential, fundamental significance for Soviet-Polish relations.

Neither new political thinking nor the idea of a common European home assume a destruction of that which exists. Relations should simply become more open and aim to a larger degree at mutually beneficial cooperation, at development of a free exchange of people, ideas and cultural values.

It is understandable that in the field of security all European countries will realize the concept of sufficiency of defensive needs, that they will bring their military potentials to a minumum necessary level while their armed forces will have an unoffensive structure. One should also ensure a sufficient clarity of military activity, and there should also exist broad confidence measures, based on reciprocity.

A common European home can only be built and can firmly stand on the foundation of territorial-political realities shaped on this continent. That is, on inviolabilty of borders.

The two military-political alliances: the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, also make up for political realities of the present day. They did not exist always and nobody treats them as a lasting factor of the future. We come out for dissolving these groupings on the principle of reciprocity.

For the time being, though, the two alliances do exist and one should aim at their being gradually transformed into political-military organizations through developing civilian trends of their activity, with a simultaneous reduction of all military elements.

New developments in Soviet-Polish relations confirm in practice the groundness of the project of a common European home, of the principles of new thinking and its main premise, that is, absolutely free choice.

In our case, cooperation is simply necessary, for the economy of the Soviet Union and the Polish economy are complementary in many aspects.

There is an ongoing debate in the Soviet Union at present on the problem of foreign credits and loans. Predominant is the opinion that we must not increase the already big foreign debt of ours.

Just like most countries, the USSR is both debtor and creditor. However, the Soviet-Polish credit mechanism was not aimed at profit. For example, as regards credits, Poland has a deficit totalling 6 billion roubles and 1.5 billion dollars, but in this case also the interest rate is much lower and there was no problem with our displaying a flexible attitude to the repayment of one or another credit.

In our trade-economic cooperation of today to the fore comes the system of mutual clearing of accounts, prices and rates of national currencies. There is an urgent need to work out a new system and new principles.

I want to stress in an absolutely firm way that the Soviet side approaches with great understanding the difficulties of the Polish economy, although we also have our own troubles.

The USSR is vitally interested in your country overcoming (the difficulties) as soon as possible. We would like to see neighbouring Poland a strong and flourishing country, living in peace and agreement with itself, with its neighbours, with other countries and nations. Such is our firm stand for today and for the future.

As regards the line of Poland's new government, one can already draw concrete conclusions. I have a definite impression that it attaches essential significance to the development of relations with the Soviet Union and is ready to proceed forward where we accumulated positive experiences and where we have tangible results. Prospects of cooperation are promising. We will be able to do much while building our relations on the principle of full equality, reciprocity and mutual advantage.

There are difficult problems in our relations, linked first of all with the past. Not only have all of them now been openly named, but they are also openly discussed within the framework of our bilateral relations.

All Soviet citizens of Polish descent who choose to live in the homeland of their ancestors, can freely go to Poland under our legislation which is now being brought to concordance with international norms. 521 Soviet Poles declared the will to go to Poland in 1988, with some obstacles emerging in just one case. 520 persons got the permission to leave.

I can state in absolute sincerity that we have a firm intention to carry out a serious, competent and responsible research and to clear the history of Polish-Soviet relations from all residues—whatever period they concern—which might hinder the rapprochement of both nations.

I am convinced that we will overcome the difficulties and embark upon a straight road, that we will develop cooperation and live like good neighbours and allies.

PAP Roundup on Visit

LD2610040189 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 25—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze wound up his Polish visit today. On Wednesday he continued talks here with Polish politicians and President Wojciech Jaruzelski about the most important questions in the Polish-Soviet and international relations.

Jaruzelski-Shevardnadze Talks

Both sides voiced a deep conviction that the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union, and between the Polish nation and the nations of USSR is of vital significance to both sides.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union were and continue to be a priority of Polish foreign policy, are highly important to the safe existence and territorial integrity of the Polish state. Poland is and will remain a reliable partner adhering to her commitments in bilateral relations and within the Warsaw Treaty. Poland is also interested in increasing the efficiency and development of cooperation within the CMEA Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Rakowski-Shevardnadze Talks

PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received CPSU CC [Central Committee] Political Bureau member, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Immediately after the meeting Rakowski and Shevardnadze were surrounded by journalists who asked them a few questions.

Meeting With Journalists

The first question concerned the course of the meeting. Shevardnadze answered:

"We talked about the so-called blank spots. It is not a new question because it had been earlier dealt with during a Jaruzelski- Gorbachev meeting. I also talked about this with the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs. We have decided that investigation in these questions would be done more dynamically in order to help reveal the historical truth. This is the only desire of the Polish and Soviet side.

(Q) Solidarity paper GAZETA WYBORCZA noted that the Polish-Soviet relations had never been as good as today. Do you share this opinion?

(A) I would prefer not to compare the various stages of our relations. I think that the present stage of our relations is interesting. I believe we should, first of all, more profoundly re-organise the mechanism of economic cooperation, upgrade the efficiency of cooperation. This lies in the interest of our states and nations. These relations are good indeed, but it cannot be otherwide between major states on the continent.

(Q) How can the Soviet Union help Poland?

(A) We have already determined the date of the prime minister's visit to the Soviet Union. We have also discussed some such issues, other will be continued in Moscow. Now, how to help you. Our conscience is clean. If we are to speak of credits, of our share in the development of Polish national economy, (we must say) the principles on which we granted them differ from those followed by western states when they were bringing help. Its worth recalling that in the years 1971-1987 Poland got Western credits worth 47 billion dollars, it has paid back 52 billion and has still 40 billion to go. Hence we see who is using which methods. Our relations are based on other principles: You helped us and now we are helping you. We should stick to this principle.

(Q) Your itinerary includes no meetings with leaders of other parties in Poland. Does that mean that the Soviet Union is still supporting the leading role of the PUWP.

(A) Yesterday I met with the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs who are obviously not PUWP members. As regards other meetings, I am ready to meet with any party leader or personality of public life if time permits.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski added that the CPSU-PUWP relations are of particular character, other than between the CPSU and the UPP [United Peasants Party] or DP [Democratic Party]. I think that if Minister Shevardnadze were to hold talks with leaders of other parties, their nature would be different from talks we have had today. We have an identical red party ticket, he said.

(Q) Did you talk with Adam Michnik (who was present at the PUWP CC building)

Shevardnadze replied: No I did not. Mr. Michnik asked me for a meeting and I am ready to meet him.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze is still in Warsaw. He will take part in a meeting of the Committee of Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers, planned on October 26.

PAP has been told that a meeting between Minister Shevardnadze and Deputy Adam Michnik took place today. Soviet diplomacy chief granted an interview to GAZETA WYBORCZA.

Relations With USSR Face 'Reshaping'

TA1910112889 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 19 Oct 89 p 9

["Summary" of "exclusive" interview with Polish Foreign Minister Professor Krzysytof Skubiszewski by Roman Prister; date and place not given: "Without a Trace of Dependence"]

[Text] [Prister] Does having a new government also imply a new policy? A parliament member on behalf of Solidarity, Jan Rokita, recently appeared before NATO's political committee, where he declared that deploying the Polish Army for an offensive against the West, despite that army's membership in the Warsaw Pact, is inconceivable. Do his remarks reflect the new line being shaped by your government?

[Skubiszewski] You used the term "offensive," so I will tell you that using our army for offensive purposes is really unthinkable, if only because the Warsaw Pact, as it is formulated, is essentially a defense pact. Previously, in accordance with the so-called Brezhnev doctrine, the pact was interpreted differently, but this no longer holds true. We will undoubtedly remain members of the pact, as we must honor agreements signed by previous governments. One of the most important missions we are currently facing is the reshaping of a national strategy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. In this there will be no choice but to make the Warsaw Pact, which is one of the major components of the current situation, the departure point for the future.

Clearly, the pact will not be broken as long as NATO remains intact. But should this happen, we will still have ties with the USSR, except that they will be based on the new internal reality that characterizes both the Soviet Union and Poland. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government advocates sovereignty outwardly and internally. This stand will directly affect the nature of relations with our big neighbor.

Membership in the Warsaw Pact, as in all the other accords we have with the USSR, requires taking the interests of all the partners into consideration. Nevertheless, let me emphasize that in saying this, I mean consideration based on complete reciprocity. Ties relying even on the tiniest form of dependence are inconceivable. Therefore, there will be new elements in our policy, although we will introduce them gingerly and gradually. Far speedier will be the changes in our foreign policy toward Western Europe and on all the issues stemming from the traditional partition of the continent.

[Prister] Can one infer from your remarks that you reject the division that was determined in the Yalta agreements?

[Skubiszewski] Hungary and Poland have already reached an agreement with the EEC. In fact, the first document I signed was a treaty with that organization. We are not talking only about economic cooperation. There is explicit political involvement in it as well. I firmly reject the Yalta accords as a dialogue between superpowers at the expense of medium and small countries or as a dictate toward those countries. The concert orchestrated by the superpowers must stop.

[Prister] You said that Poland's foreign policy toward the USSR cannot be based on dependence. Does that mean that Poland can conduct its own foreign policy without consulting Moscow?

[Skubiszewski] Consultations do not imply dependence and do not put any dent in sovereignty, as long as they do not carry a hint of dictates.

[Prister] How do you regard Poland's future Middle East policy, particularly toward Israel?

[Skubiszewski] I conceive of it as being based on complete normalization of relations. We enjoy broad economic cooperation with the Arab countries, which we intend to pursue and expand even further. When I talk about absolute normalization, I mean full diplomatic relations with Israel, as well as with those Arab countries with which we still have no such ties. As for the future of our relations with Israel, and in light of the economic crisis in Poland, we are hoping for greater economic involvement on your part. You are a highly significant economic factor, not to mention the Jewish diaspora's financial clout. It would therefore only be natural for us to pin certain hopes on these. Unfortunately, the volume of trade between our two countries is extremely small.

This is the place to point out that unlike certain Western countries, Poland supported the establishment of the State of Israel. Although in politics one talks about the present rather than history, nevertheless there is a historical and emotional bond between our peoples, which one cannot ignore. When I visited Tel Aviv in December as a private citizen, I never felt that I was in a foreign country.

[Prister] Can you set a specific date for the normalization of relations between the two countries?

[Skubiszewski] I cannot give a precise date. I would say that this will happen in the nearest future possible. In 1967 I strongly objected to severing bilateral ties. Cutting diplomatic relations serves no purpose. If there is no war, even though there may be political differences of opinion, there is no reason why two countries cannot maintain full diplomatic relations. These ties help in understanding and working out problems. I would therefore like to explain to the Israeli public, through your paper, that this would be a sovereign Polish decision. We will inform other countries of it, but this does not mean that we will be seeking their approval. The resumption of relations with Israel will be an independent step taken by Poland as a sovereign state.

Further Coverage on Mazowiecki Visit to Italy

Andreotti Welcome

LD2010025989 Warsaw PAP in English
2259 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Rome, Oct. 19—In his toast delivered during a luncheon given in honour of Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti said, among other things:

"The Italian-Polish relations have never been as intensive and significant as today. Countries of so different international positions have rarely achieved so many fruitful and mutually advantageous links. I am positive that a similar trend will be present in our future relations to the benefit of both nations and to the entire European continent.

"Poland, which owing to the concerted effort of all Poles has initiated the process of renewal which we consider a phenomenon of historic importance, has witnessed developments of basic significance in recent months. Your country is now again a country of hope, Poland sets example for all those states which have not yet fully implemented the goals of economic, social, and political progress."

The Italian prime minister said his country advocated granting a possibly broadest economic assistance by the West to the efforts undertaken by the government of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki in order to cure the Polish economy. "We are confident," Andreotti said, "That this will contribute to Poland's gradual catching up with the West European living standards."

In the closing part of his toast Prime Minister Andreotti addressed his guest with the following words:

"Your visit to Italy, which is your first visit to the West in your new, so high a rank, to us seems first of all to be a manifestation of recognition for the efforts made by Italy together with other Western countries in order to extend to Poland help in her restoration of her due role in the community of nations. We are very grateful for showing this kindness and we feel honoured with it," Andreotti said.

Toast at Luncheon

AU2410204989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Oct 89 p 3

[Unsigned report on toast of Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at luncheon in Rome on 19 October]

[Text] In the toast that he made at a luncheon given by Premier Giulio Andreotti at the Villa Madama on the occasion of his visit to Italy, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said, among other things: "Rome is the first foreign capital that I have visited as premier of the new Polish Government, which was formed as a result of the important democratic changes that took place in Poland. I cordially thank you for the invitation and for receiving us so quickly.

"The choice of Rome to start our international contacts was not by chance. Poland and Italy are states that, I believe, can jointly make an important contribution to building future European unity."

At the same time the premier stressed that, while retaining its place within the existing framework of alliances, Poland can actively work toward overcoming current stereotypes in the political life of our continent. Together with Italy, we would like to give a new impetus to the construction of European unity.

T. Mazowiecki drew attention to the common Christian cultural tradition shared by Poland and Italy and said: "There is one more special bond linking us. Poland has given the world, the church, and Italy its finest son. Through John Paul II, the culture and difficult historical experiences of that other Europe are entering the universal mainstream of Christian and human values."

The premier went on to say: "Our country is currently undergoing profound internal changes. We are striving to effect both the democratic reorganization of the state and to lead the economy out of a state of collapse. We are hoping that Europe will not abandon us at this historic but exceptionally difficult time. It pleases us greatly that Italy should have adopted such a favorable attitude toward Poland; one that goes markedly beyond the usual scope of bilateral relations."

The premier added: The announcement that government credit guarantees would be restored was particularly important for us.

"It would be of value to us to make use of Italian experience in developing small-scale industry, as that is a sector in which we suffer from a particularly acute lack of plants. We propose that the Italian Government dispatch a special mission to Poland for the purpose of examining opportunities for advantageous participation in economic cooperation."

Addressing Premier Andreotti, to whom he conveyed expressions of respect as well as greetings for the Italian people, T. Mazowiecki said: "We all appreciate your outstanding role and great contribution to the development of cooperation between our countries and, on an international level, to the cause of detente and cooperation between East and West. It would please us greatly to have the opportunity to play host to you in Warsaw once more. We would like to thank all our friends in Italy for not forgetting Poland and for not forgetting 'Solidarity' during what were difficult times for us, and for their trust that the Poles would find a way of resolving their problems through dialogue. That this should have happened is the work of all the fundamental social and political forces in Poland."

Purpose of Trip Viewed

AU2410140389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Oct 89 p 3

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by RZECZPOSPOLITA correspondent Kazimierz Dziewanowski: "A Journey to the Source of Values"—Rome, date not given]

[Text] [Dziewanowski] Your first trip as head of government is to Italy. Why?

[Mazowiecki] There are many reasons. This is, as it were, a journey to the source of the values that guide me and to which our people and I myself refer. I think it is time to thank the pope for supporting the people all these years and giving them faith and encouragement. He has done so much for us that it is time to show our gratitude.

The Italian trip also contains an exceedingly important aspect. Here we have encountered understanding and warm feelings for a long time. Cooperation with Italy is important for Poland. Of course, that does not mean that my successive trips will be less important. That is not at all the case, and no one should think so. But one always has to start somewhere. I think I have started in the right place.

[Dziewanowski] The values you mention can probably be interpreted in two ways, either Christian values, or European values.

[Mazowiecki] Of course. We have commenced a return to Europe in a general sense, in the sense of a return to the source, and at the same time in the sense of increasingly closer cooperation and increasingly richer cooperation in the future. Naturally, this is a long process, not a single act. But what is important is that it has been started. We are encountering much understanding of this matter from the Italian side. Mr Andreotti has spoken about this on more than one occasion.

[Dziewanowski] But how does it feel to enter the routine of diplomatic protocol? Is it not a little overwhelming?

[Mazowiecki] Yes, it is a little overwhelming. I cannot deny that. But I am trying to rescue myself. I am trying not to fall into this routine completely, but to remain the way I am. The best proof of that is the location of our talk and the way in which we are talking.

Solidarity Daily Views GDR Leadership Change

LD1910150989 Warsaw PAP in English
1325 GMT 19 Oct 89

["GDR's Krenz Stands Chance, Solidarity Daily Says"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—Solidarity daily GAZETA WYBORCZA today has this comment in the wake of the change in the GDR's party leadership:

"Krenz's name disappoints, but people in the GDR lived through a new experience. For the first time ever social protests were not suppressed by force, and what is more, they were directly followed by the party leader's fall. Krenz is facing changed people. For the time being their demands are modest. The price of a compromise would not be too high for the authorities now but it will be going up as time goes by.

"If Krenz fails to seize this chance, he will just be a transition-stage man. The West and the East are unanimous in that they want a stabilized, hence a self-reforming GDR. He who ensures this can count on support."

NOVOSTI on Planned U.S. Singapore Presence

AU2510125089 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 23 Oct 89 p 5

[NOVOSTI article 'specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' by Soviet Colonel Vladimir Chernyshev, candidate for technical sciences: "Against the Concept of a Peace Zone"]

[Text] The news that Singapore is about to establish U.S. military installations on its territory cannot have gone unnoticed by the countries belonging to ASEAN and other countries in Asia and the Pacific region. It has not remained without an echo in the Soviet Union, which is firmly and consistently in favor of reducing tension and increasing confidence in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. What is the essence of the new situation?

The Asian countries are the first to have presented Washington with a proposal of this kind since the debacle in Indo-China, at a time when Washington stubbornly refuses to abandon its politics from a position of strength in Asia and the Pacific, and is trying to pressurize Asian countries into increasing their military potentials.

The invitation was extended on the eve of difficult talks between Washington and Manila on the future of the Clark field and Subic Bay bases in the Philippines, the largest U.S. bases outside the United States. These bases occupy an area considerably larger than the whole of Singapore.

The authorities justify their decision in quite an odd way. Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew once said that the USSR-U.S. conflict was the greatest danger to small states. Today, however, the danger of regional conflicts is increasing. An alleged reliance on American military potential can be the only guarantee of security. It looks as if the more stable the general military-political situations, the greater the danger to small countries....

In fact, as numerous political observers and experts in Asian countries and the Pacific say, Singapore's proposal clashes with the concept of a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality, contained in the Kuala Lumpur declaration of 1971. It is an obstacle in the process of converting this region into a nuclear-free zone, as called for by the ASEAN countries during the 1987 Manila summit.

Taking the matter further, one must say that Singapore's present stance in no way corresponds to the new trends in international politics, which are based on detente, a reduction of armed forces, and an end to the arms race. Will the appearance of American soldiers in Singapore encourage disarmament? Anyone who bears no prejudices will answer no. This would be nothing but an increase in the U.S. military presence in Asia and the Pacific.

That is why the Soviet Union cannot fail to share the concern aroused by the probable development of events.

I have in mind a statement made by a representative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry in August this year. He said that the establishment of new American installations in Southeast Asia would bring about a fundamental change to the military-political situation there. It would upset the balance of forces and cause the political climate to deteriorate.

Of course, every sovereign country, including Singapore, has the exclusive right to determine its own politics. All one can do is express regret that the politics on which Singapore has decided clashes with the general trend to reduce the level of military confrontation which can be felt around the world these days.

KPN Protests Continue, Demands Still Unmet

PRON Offices Occupied

AU2210213089 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 89 p 2

[Stanislaw Zielinski report: "The Occupation of the PRON Premises Is Continuing"]

[Text] Activists of the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland) are illegally occupying a building that has been vacated by the Municipal Council of PRON [Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth] in Katowice, and demanding that the building be handed over to the KPN. They are claiming that the occupation will last until success has been achieved. For this purpose, signatures beneath the KPN's demands are being sought from passers by. The activists have announced various forms of propaganda and protest, including hunger strikes.

Yesterday, there was a KPN rally on the market square in Katowice. Adam Slomka, a local activist of this organization, said that KPN had occupied the PRON building because PRON is now a political corpse. Therefore, the activity of KPN does not constitute confrontation vis-a-vis any political party or group.

What comes next? Adam Slomka says that there are going to be rallies and yet more rallies—in factories, cities, everywhere. There will also be peaceful and dignified forms of protest. The leader of KPN in Katowice did not exclude the possibility of preventing the voivode of Katowice from entering his offices. The voivode is procrastinating about a final decision concerning the PRON premises, as if in fear of having to answer for it before the "reds" one day.

Ryszard Gil, press spokesman for the voivode of Katowice, said: "Last week, Tadeusz Wnuk, voivode of Katowice, was supposed to have met with the KPN activists. However, the meeting never took place because the KPN people demanded guarantees of safety for themselves, which of course angered representatives of the regional administration. The voivodship authorities informed Warsaw about the situation. Formally, however, they support the stance of Katowice City Hall."

Edmund Dominiczewski, deputy mayor of Katowice, says: "Before the former PRON municipal offices were occupied, we made oral and written suggestions to KPN, asking them to rent suitable premises for themselves in the city. We said we cannot hand over by means of an administrative decision state premises to an organization that has not been formally registered. The building that used to house the PRON offices still houses the municipal education department. It is impossible to enter this building without being questioned by a KPN picket. This picket decides whether people's matters are urgent enough to be settled immediately, or whether they can wait a few days'."

Leader Makes Statement

LD2410100989 Warsaw PAP in English 2200 GMT23 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23: Leader of the Confederation for Independent Poland KPN Leszek Moczulski met with journalists here today. He spoke about his conception of equal status to all political parties and, in this context, about his organization's protest consisting in the occupation of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) premises.

After talks with the prime minister on September 9, held by activists of the KPN, the Polish Socialist Party PPS, and the Labour Party, during which they wanted access to office rooms, radio, television, and a separate TV news programme available to various political groups, the confederation tried to acquire rooms from local authorities of about 40 towns, Moczylski told the journalists. It did not get any in any of those places. Also getting in touch with the minister responsible for the working contacts with political parties turned out impossible, he explained.

We continue to pin great hopes on the government of Prime Minister Mazowiecki, Moczulski asserted. This government has our support in all that is right. But where we cannot say its actions are right, we shall keep silent or present our different opinion, Moczuslki vowed.

Government Stand on Demands

LD2410100389 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 23—Activists of the Confederation for Independent Poland KPN have recently addressed many demands to the authorities and said the possibility to run organisational activities depend on their being met, the Government Press Bureau said in a statement issued today. KPN wanted the following:

A separate building in central Warsaw, a high-circulation daily paper (hinting to ZYCIE WARSZAWY), a low-interest credit of up to several billion zlotys from the National Bank of Poland NBP, etc.

To exert pressure, KPN people started a lawless occupation of office rooms belonging to various institutions.

The administration was ordered to ensure the possibility of renting offices by extra-parliamentary political forces on the same principles which are binding to associations and social organisations.

In practice this meant that political organisations not registered until now and still having no legal person's status could acquire their offices on comfortable renting conditions but not as a gift from the state.

A democratic state cannot be a weak state, helpless in the face of law breaking. A state just beginning the process of democratisation cannot be weak, the government statement said and explained in conclusion:

The decision to remove KPN members from the occupied buildings was motivated by the need to protect these values. Fortunately, the action carried out by city authorities in the presence of law-enforcement troops did not require the use of force.

There is room for the KPN under the democratic political order which is developing in Poland. But no political party can enjoy a special status, the government press office said.

Picketing for Equal Rights

LD2410200389 Warsaw PAP in English 1609 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 24—Activists of the Warsaw chapter of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) started to picket the office of the Council of Ministers here today.

The Confederation demands from the government to make decisions which will ensure equal rights for political parties and make it possible for independent groupings to get offices and access to mass media.

Geremek Interviewed on OKP's Work

AU2010135989 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the OKP, by Dorota Ciepielewska: "We Are Creating the Framework of a Political Arrangement"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Ciepielewska] You are the chairman of a body that is totally different to all the other bodies in the Sejm today and yesterday.

[Geremek] Indeed. The OKP [Citizens Parliamentary Club] is a peculiar parliamentary club, one of the reasons for which is that it has no legal basis for its existence. The present rules in force lay down that parliamentary clubs should stem from political parties. But the OKP does not stem from any party. It is a representation of the political forces that won the June elections. It gathers 260 deputies and senators who were chosen from the "Solidarity" list. However, its unity is determined not only by the fact that all its members were chosen from a single list, but also by its connection with "Solidarity's" basic values—the conviction that a respect for fundamental traditions in Europe and Poland, in other words a respect for freedom, human rights, national independence, human dignity, and an economic system based on the normal principles that function in the European economy, should be restored to political, economic, and social life. In this way, the club is rallying itself around the program that was formulated in May before the elections and is now being implemented by the new political arrangement.

[Ciepielewska] That program was formulated during a different reality. What has happened since then will no doubt cause the program to be amended.

[Geremek] The changes that are taking place do not affect the program's contents. They affect the speed of its implementation. The latest months have seen an enormous acceleration of history in Poland. It is becoming possible to achieve more quickly what we planned to achieve over the space of several months and even years before the election.

In this acceleration of history, our achievement is that Poland is proceeding toward democracy and a sensible economic order without any political unrest. This is what "Solidarity" wanted during its legal existence and during its many years of struggle for the right to exist. We have been successful in this so far.

[Ciepielewska] I think there were more people involved in directing this train onto a new track, but your parliamentary representation did it with exceptional efficiency. What is more, you did it harmoniously. After all, there is no denying that the OKP contains people who are in no way submissive. Can one govern such people?

[Geremek] I am not trying to govern this club. I want to help organize its parliamentary and political work. That is a difficult task, but at the same time it gives me satisfaction that this is a body of people who are not submissive, people who are altering the principles that govern the functioning of parliamentary representations and relationships between club members and the club leadership chosen by them. The record of this work seems positive to me, because the club has been implementing its policies steadily during the first difficult months of the new parliament, despite the great differences in interests and opinions. I think this augurs well for the future, though we do not want to be an artificially united body of people that votes the way it is told to vote.

[Ciepielewska] This unity is impossible in view of the variety of opinions represented in the OKP. Let us try and describe them.

[Geremek] There are two chief orientations in the Polish Parliament—one that is in favor of the system of government so far, with a single party in power and a power monopoly; and one that is against it. This split is still in force, for a lot has changed in the arrangement of central bodies of authority, but little has changed in the way the country is run. This means that differences in political views and interests are still being accorded secondary importance.

The OKP represents the different interests of urban and rural dwellers, private entrepreneurs, and workers. It contains representatives of movements that call for a liberal economy and greater self-management. So far, there has been no conflict between them, but there might be conflicts when the time comes to choose economic strategies and decide on political action.

[Ciepielewska] Has this variety of interests found expression in any tendency to create internal structures in the OKP?

[Geremek] Yes. Such groups are being established on the basis of a communion of interests. It has also been suggested that those deputies and senators concerned about problems of self-management should form themselves into a separate group. That, however, belongs to the future.

[Ciepielewska] Cooperation between parliamentary clubs has assumed new features ever since the forces represented by the OKP entered into a coalition with the parties of the old alliance.

[Geremek] By the nature of things, contacts between the chairmen of the three parliamentary clubs are more frequent, and joint meetings of the club presidiums are held. We jointly agree on planned legislation, brief each other on our activity, and determine ways of supporting the government.

So far, we have had conflict-free relations with the largest club in the Sejm, the PZPR Deputies Club, with whom we have reached agreement without major trouble on matters that demand joint decisions, for instance who should be chairman of which Sejm committee. What is important and good is the so-called lateral divisions that are being formed, for example a situation where a political or economic reformist movement is supported by all the parliamentary clubs.

[Ciepielewska] What do you think the OKP has contributed to the work of Parliament?

[Geremek] I think it has introduced Parliament to the political life of Poland, and now it is trying to create a permanent place for it there. This involves establishing a model for the functioning of the state, a model in which the Sejm and the Senate should be a forum of discussion about the paths of present changes, a center of control over the executive authorities, and the source of a legal framework for the future political arrangement.

We have commenced work on an essential and immediate amendment to the Constitution. Together with the other clubs, we are going to start writing a new one. Also needed is a new economic law to match the government's program of reform.

[Ciepielewska] That is what the future political framework would look like. But what should be considered the most urgent task?

[Geremek] We shall produce a schedule for our legislative work in the next few days. However, I can already tell you that the club's plans contain all the issues that we have already undertaken. The legislative work is a long process that requires the knowledge of experts and the energy of deputies and senators. The most important thing right now is to prepare a reform of regional self-government bodies and of the economic law. I think we will see the result of this over the next 4 months.

[Ciepielewska] You are trying to set up cooperation between scholars. However, when one looks at the OKP membership, one comes to the conclusion that the 24 professors who belong to the OKP would form quite a good team of experts.

[Geremek] In the OKP we have appointed teams to tackle problems consisting of deputies and senators who belong to the equivalent Sejm and Senate committees. We are trying to attract the broad academic community to take part in this work. For example, a team of economic experts has prepared a plan to restructure the economy, a team of sociological experts is carrying out an analysis of the social situation in Poland, and psychologists are assessing the impact of the work of the government and Parliament.

[Ciepielewska] Such an intellectual potential constitutes a major force, which is augmented by the fact that many OKP members belong to the present government or occupy senior posts in the state administration. Does this not create the temptation to gradually become an independent center of power?

[Geremek] Only a few OKP members belong to the government, as a result of the coalitional arrangement. I do not think the OKP has become a center of power, but it is a powerful representation because it has strong social support. This is a situation of strength and weakness, because we feel that, even if we do not play a major role in executive authority but merely belong to the present order, society shoulders us with responsibility for the fate of the country, and will hold us to account for it.

That is why we have decided to apply the same criteria of control, assessment, and accountability to the government that has been formed as a result of our very own decisions and program. We may and should be the social voice that supports the government's reformist actions and criticizes any government deviation from society's expectations. Taking advantage of the confidence vested in us, we want to convince society about the policies of the government and parliament. Is this a sign of power? I think not. It is mainly a sign of responsibility. That is what our club has.

Radio Committee Official, OKP Meet in Sejm

LD2110101189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Members of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] met in the Sejm with the management of the Radio Committee and discussed radio and television. Andrzej Drawicz [chairman of the committee] announced that in the coming months structural reforms would be made in television, particularly in the sphere of informatory and publicist programs.

In the opinion of the majority of the more than 20 people who spoke—deputies and senators also invited guests—immediate and radical personnel changes are necessary.

Walesa Discusses Solidarity Union's Role

AU1910081889 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 13-15 Oct 89 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of "Solidarity," by Anna Bikont: "I Am an Excellent Amateur"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Bikont] You say that you are an amateur and that you will shortly step down, because it is time for the professionals to take over. Some people say that this is just coquetry, because you are a specialist, an outstanding politician, and the architect of moves that no one apart from you could have risked.

[Walesa] I am an excellent amateur. When I talk about professionalism, what I have in mind is the time when we won political pluralism. What we will have is parties agreeing among themselves about the number of places they will have in parliament. There will be parties, but no Walesa. I will either be in retirement or involved in the trade unions. I will not appear on the chess-board, and trade unions will not appear on the political chess-board.

You can assume that parties will meet and agree that, for example, whichever party has the greatest number of seats will nominate the president, the next party will nominate the premier, the third will nominate the foreign minister, and the fourth—well, that depends on the plan being used, and that is up to the professionals.

I make projections about everything and I have to know about things in advance, because what is at stake is a democratic, pluralist Poland.

[Bikont] What will happen if your predictions are proved wrong? What if there is a general presidential election and people want to elect you? Will you agree to that?

[Walesa] A president who does not enjoy the support of his party does not stand any chance of becoming president, but can only become a puppet, and I do not see myself being in a party.

[Bikont] You predict that about 20 parties will appear in the near future: Christian, socialist, communist parties. You have made no mention of a large peasant party. Do you not believe that such a party will appear?

[Walesa] I not think so, because a single peasant—a monopoly of peasants who will not want to give us something to eat—is the same thing as a single party of workers, a single party of teachers, a single party of doctors.... I think that it would be a mistake today to seek to create a single peasant party, and a mistake to create a single workers party, and I cannot allow that to happen.

This may be necessary and right at some point in the future, but what we have to do now is to complete an accelerated course in political education and economics; there must be various directions, and we have to have a fight over who is right. We have got to finish school.

If I had agreed to assume the office of premier or president that would have been a monopoly. That is not something that I would do myself, and I would not recommend it to others.

[Bikont] For some time now you have been saying that you will step down from the post of "Solidarity" chairman at the congress. During the August strike, you talked about Jacek Merkel as your successor. Will you propose someone for the post? Who do you think stands the best chance of becoming chairman?

[Walesa] The best person for the job. All I said was that Jacek will stand in for me at this point in the struggle. He belongs to the younger cadre, and it does contain a lot of activists of a high caliber and every one of them has great prospects.

I have given up at least 20 years of my life for Poland. I forgot about my family, my home, my private life, and did nothing but fight. I want to take a vacation and catch up on those personal things, because life is short. This does not mean that I am incapable, that I am afraid, but there are others who are just as good or even better.

[Bikont] "I am a man of victory" is something that you repeat about yourself. Have you suffered any defeats recently?

[Walesa] No, for the time being I have not suffered any defeats. Things look different over a longer period of time, because a victor who is defeated on a just issue is still a victor. On 13 December I thought that I had been defeated. I told the gentlemen that came to collect me that they had lost and that they would come begging to me on their knees one day. I was proved right, although I did, perhaps, phrase things rather too strongly.

[Bikont] Great politicians sometimes also make mistakes. Was it not a mistake to set up a joint secretariat of the Democratic Party Central Committee, the United Peasant Party Supreme, and the National Executive Commission, which gives+ the National Executive Commission an unclear role as a kind of political party?

[Walesa] It was not a mistake, I played fair and told the gentlemen that I would not permit the restoration of a monopoly, that I was building democracy and freedom, and that if other peasant parties are set up, and if they are bigger and better, then I am in favor of pluralism.

[Bikont] When a roundtable was first proposed during the August strike, what you said to striking workers was: I will prove to you that I have won, but I cannot do so now. Were you groping about in the dark then, or were you sure that you would win?

[Walesa] I am a politician, and politicians must be able to make predictions. I had more information than they had, both domestic and international.

[Bikont] You also derive part of your strength from the choice of excellent advisers. They have become premiers, ministers, and marshals. Do you feel the lack of them now? Does this not weaken the union?

[Walesa] No one ever made a decision on my behalf. Advisers submit arguments and carry out a lot of work, and I listen to the arguments, make choices, and decide by myself. An aircraft is built by many people, but there can only be one pilot, and he has to be good or the aircraft carrying everyone may crash. So, please do not create problems for me.

[Bikont] Who are your closest advisers today?

[Walesa] When things were difficult and a strike could not be ended, I would dispatch Jacek Kuron. Bronislaw Geremek would attend international meetings and travel abroad. Tadeusz Mazowiecki would deal with union issues and German affairs. He went to the FRG to make preparations for my visit, but he did not report to me on it, because he then became the premier.

[Bikont] How will the union react to economic moves made by the government? Do you think that a serious conflict could erupt between "Solidarity" and the government?

[Walesa] I will seek to assist and support government decisions at the right time, but I will never abandon society. If this government forgets society, if it makes miscalculations about what can be done with society, and if it forgets that its mandate was granted it by society, there will be a conflict, and I will be on the side of society. I am helping this government, I wish it the very best, but I cannot forget where I come from. I would not like there to be conflicts, and I hope that there will be no conflicts.

[Bikont] What can "Solidarity" contribute to the new economic changes: explain the government's moves to the people, revive respect for work, and what else?

[Walesa] It should see to it that everything proceeds in accordance with the will of the people and that everything serves the people.

[Bikont] At a meeting of the National Executive Commission it was said that the union should fight the nomenklatura and that "Solidarity" should break up local cliques, because it is inconvenient for Mazowiecki to do so.

[Walesa] That is one of the issues, but if we have a good economic system, it will break up the nomenklatura by itself.

[Bikont] Two months ago the Citizens' Parliamentary Club gave in to the National Executive Commission and agreed to full indexation. Today the government and the Citizens' Parliamentary Club are in favor of a compensatory form of indexation and the National Executive Commission will give in to it. Has the arrangement of forces changed now?

[Walesa] No, it is a question of common sense. The health service has managed to win increases that it does not deserve. However, an arrangement whereby strong sectors get more and stronger is better is not based on a feeling of solidarity.

[Bikont] Precisely, "Solidarity" is a symbol for the strong helping the weak. Meanwhile, the Gdansk Shipyard Factory Commission stated that it has a feeling of solidarity with Mrs Piasecka-Johnson, and it will not take part in the warning strike announced by the regional authorities of the union. Does that spell the end of "Solidarity"?

[Walesa] I helped in making the decision. We declared that the shipyard is the heart of "Solidarity" and that it agrees with the protests, but we want to show that we are concerned about the economic reform of our country. The strike could impact on Mrs Piasecka's decision.

[Bikont] We are faced with an increasing number of difficult choices of this kind. How are they viewed by the young strikers at the shipyard who were instrumental in bringing about the roundtable? Do they still believe in you?

[Walesa] We fought for and obtained pluralism, and young people have a right to think differently.

ceting of the National Executive Commission's presidium you bet Bronislaw Geremek that you would travel around Poland and acquire 10 million members for "Solidarity." When will you begin the tour? What is the deadline for settling the bet?

[Walesa] The whole problem is that I still cannot do so. If there were the 10 million, what would happen next. I think that a gallows has to be erected, because someone must be responsible for this situation, someone has not been made to account for this. The organization has its rights, and the better organized it is, the more it can demand. That is why we must tailor our strength to the needs. I cannot use a tank to shoot at flies. If it is to be a strong union, then where should it be strong? Should it be strong at the Katowice Steelworks, in the mammoth enterprises? Something has to be done with these enterprises. What strong union will agree to that? And a union of that kind would be right. There is no possibility of there being a good union until there is a good economy.

That is why I would repeat: We are a social movement and we want to become a good union in the future, and we can become that good union once "Solidarity" has created good economic, political, and legal conditions.

[Bikont] Father Jankowski, who was offended for some time, explained that "we should separate 'Solidarity' from the church." Do you know of any different reactions from the clergy? How do you see the role of the church now?

[Walesa] The church has so much wisdom and so much experience that it knows what it has to do and I do not have to teach it. We were very close, it gave us refuge, and the church helped us to recover our rights. We are now benefiting from these rights and the church is continuing to do its work.

[Bikont] At the last meeting of the national-level "Solidarity" ruling bodies it was charged that GAZETA WYBORCZA criticizes its chairman. Would you also level such charges?

[Walesa] Criticism is alright, but you should write intelligently.

[Bikont] Your decision to appoint a new editor in chief for TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC without consulting its editorial board has offended the intelligentsia. This was voiced in a statement issued by the Association of Polish Journalists and in REGION, the Lower Silesian publication. It is a matter of the way in which the decision was made. You decided about something that was a matter that belonged to a certain community, the editorial board. You destroyed that community. Do you see the problem?

[Walesa] I appointed Jaroslaw Kaczynski editor in chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. When I made Adam Michnik editor in chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA—we were in a train at the time—no one protested.

[Bikont] However, if you were to dismiss him, we, the editorial board, would protest.

[Walesa] I cannot agree to being a puppet chairman. Either I decide who will be the editor in chief or not. I know that I offended a close-knit group. It was a right decision, but was not handled tactfully, and that is why people may have reason to complain. I understand that the complaints are being addressed to me, complaints about human mistakes, about the fact that members of the editorial board were informed of the decision over the telephone.

It is being said that it was an attack on democracy. On the contrary, we have still to learn democracy. There is a lack of dignity about stepping down. Can you imagine Reagan and his entire administration not wanting to step down? It was also a group that had become close-knit. We should learn how to step down and how to treat people correctly. I do not want to get involved in why there were so many shifts in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, although that is something that I could complain about.

There is a certain group that would like to wield influence, and I cannot permit that. Premier Mazowiecki cannot build up a kind of infrastructure, retain something for himself, when it is no longer his.

[Bikont] Do you see journalists as functionaries and not as people pursuing an independent profession in accordance with the dictates of their conscience?

[Walesa] All my decisions were always undermined. No one ever helped me; attempts were always made to hinder me and to subvert what I was doing. However, it always transpired that the decisions were not that bad after all.

I do not betray or deceive people. I want people to be given an equal chance; I do not like monopolies. I am a man who favors a balance.

We are all children of the same system. This system, by reason of the fact that it was dominated by one side, created a hell for us. There has to be a balance between the left and the right. If one wing gets too powerful, I shall lend my support to the other.

As long as I am here I shall not allow any threats to develop. I shall continue to support the weak. Let wisdom finally triumph in this country.

[Bikont] It has at last emerged that the dispute over TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC hinged on preserving a political balance, and not the maintenance of the trade union line. Ludmila Wujec and Michal Boni could both have stood successfully in the men's and the women's sections respectively in any nationwide competition to find the best trade unionist...

[Walesa] It was also a question of the paper becoming even more unionist, that is to say, another grouping of the union. I really want a balance.

[Bikont] In his meeting with the editorial board of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, Jaroslaw Kaczynski stated that the union had already lost GAZETA WYBORCZA and it must not lose TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. Do you agree with this view?

[Walesa] He got carried away. A limited company has been formed there. A limited company cannot be a trade union.

[Bikont] Do you not consider that the freedom of the press is a valuable thing in itself?

[Walesa] I am perfectly aware that I should say that the press should be independent. Right now, however, we need loyalty. These are very early days, and for the moment things cannot be as they ought to be. We must first break the monopolies.

[Bikont] As a final question, I would like to ask what you intend to do during your visits to the United States and Chile.

[Walesa] I have to attend to three matters in the United States, namely, social, union, and political matters. These are separate issues which cannot be fused with one another. I would find it easier to travel to the moon. My visit could ruin everything if we cannot arrange all these things smoothly. The Americans are willing to give us a lot of understanding, but the United States is a democratic and pluralistic country, where there are many competing interests. When we enter this arena of interests we must be extremely careful and support the elements that exist, in order to secure gains, and not losses.

[Bikont] Are you alluding to the balance between the Republicans and the Democrats?

[Walesa] Not only. Organized labor in the United States would like to see me in my unionist role. Then there are the Americans of Polish origin and, additionally, there is the whole spectrum of economic life. I shall have to meet the workers and the employers. If I spend too much time with one side, I risk affronting the other. How am I supposed to strike a balance? They will be probing: Is he a trade unionist, or is he a politician? It is a really difficult choice.

[Bikont] What about Chile? Have you been guaranteed the right to meet imprisoned trade union leaders?

[Walesa] I have informed Pinochet of the nature of my visit and that I would like to see these people set free. There is a good argument for my trip to Chile, namely, when things were bad in Poland, the whole world sat up and took notice, while in Chile it is still bad and nobody seems to care. Perhaps Pinochet will lock me away, and at last I would be able to get 48 [figure as published] hours of sleep.

Hall: Party Privileges To Be 'Liquidated'

*LD2010163889 Warsaw PAP in English
0033 GMT 20 Oct 89*

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 19—Minister, member of the Council of Ministers, Aleksander Hall gave today an interview for Polish TV in which he took a stand on changes in the functioning of political parties which take place during the process of democratization in the state.

"All participants in public life, both old parties and emerging ones, must enjoy the same rights. So far official parties which have dominated public scene have enjoyed a number of privileges. Among them were subsidies from the state budget, big credit preferences and tax reductions. This system of privileges is and will be liquidated," Hall said.

Asked to assess expectations of some non-parliamentary opposition groupings, Hall stated that they were absolutely understandable. Their main expectations concern the possession of equal rights. The government perfectly understands this and intends to observe the principle of the equality of rights. However, it does not want to and cannot extend the just liquidated privileges of old parties to new ones, the minister remarked.

"However, there are also other attitudes. For instance, my office has been informed on the stand of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) which demands a seat in the centre of Warsaw: a separate building with a conference hall, a dozen or so rooms, room for a printing shop, a flat for door-keeping and room for a bookshop with KPN publications as well as telephones and telexes. It is just an example of a stand consisting of claims. Surely, this is a kind of thinking contrary to our philosophy and way of thinking about party issues," Hall stated.

Congress Commission's Program Team Meets

*AU1910124389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 17 Oct 89 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Izabella Waszczuk on a meeting of the programmatic team of the Central Congress Commission in Warsaw on 16 October]

[Text] What goals do the most prominent political platforms have in common, what kind of ideas appear the most frequently among these platforms, and what is new about them?

All of these questions had to be answered by the programmatic team of the Central Congress Commission at its 16 October meeting. The team performed an analysis on the basis of 11 documents provided by various groups and movements and by party organizations.

In most of these documents, one notices a description of preparations for the party congress and a description of party objectives after the congress.

The team noted that there is a joint conviction among the platforms that the party should proceed to the congress as a single, united organization. However, there is also the joint view that the party has lost its programmatic attraction and its social base. There is also a common conviction that in the system that is currently taking shape, a strong left-wing party that is capable of taking an effective part in political life cannot be absent.

Therefore, the party should proceed to the congress as a united organization. However, what about after the congress? The possibilities are as follows:

—The dissolution of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] and its replacement by a new party. This scenario has the greatest number of supporters, including the 8 July Movement, the "Openness" Group from Lodz, the Socialist Left-Wing Party from Krakow, and PZPR College Committee secretaries in Krakow;

—The creation of a union of left-wing forces, with the justification that none of the left-wing streams presently in existence can be considered absolutely right. This view is shared by, among other things, the "Puls" ["Pulse"] Group from the Polish Academy of Sciences. This stream of thought has been labeled postcommunist. However, doubts exist as to the extent to which this group represents the thinking of the Polish Academy of Sciences;

—A transformation of the PZPR, but with a continuation of its traditions.

Therefore, most people are convinced that the historic role of the PZPR should be continued. The question is, how much of the PZPR's heritage should the new party adopt, and how much it should discard?

Most of the programmatic documents refer to the traditional values of the workers' movement, such as social justice, equality, freedom, and democracy, which they say should be retained. However, there are differences in view as far as long-term objectives are concerned. Some groups speak out in favor of continuing the traditions of Marxism, an opinion shared by "Puls" and the Young Left-Wing Movement, while others want a democratic socialism, including the 8 July Movement and the Socialist Left-Wing Party in Krakow.

New ideals are dignity, tolerance, and individualism as a counterweight to collectivism.

What these groups accept and what they reject gives a clue about their attitude toward ownership. However, although the documents of these groups reveal major differences in what each group thinks, the meeting found it difficult to establish what ideas representatives of these groups attending the meeting have in common.

What kind of state should Poland be? Most of these representatives were in favor of Poland becoming a state of parliamentary democracy. "Puls" is the only group that does not suggest this concept.

A few of the representatives discussed the programs of their groups. That of the Young Working People's Movement, presented by Mieczyslaw Krajewski, aroused the greatest amount of interest. This program, which mainly calls for a re-nationalization of assets, is fully contained in the movement's declaration. What is interesting is that this is the only program to offer ready-made economic solutions.

Gabriela Rembisz, a Politburo member who attended the meeting, asked: If the PZPR is dissolved, what will happen to the PZPR Deputies Club and party people inside the government? Zbigniew Siemiatkowski from the 8 July Movement replied that each party member will have to decide on his own position. He also said that his movement might possibly come to terms with the Young Working People's Movement on the subject of populism, but there is no question of the 8 July Movement coming to terms with "Puls." Mieczyslaw Krajewski, discussing a vision of a left-wing orientated center of authority, also noted the possibility of an agreement with the 8 July Movement.

Some of the views of movement representatives were approved by the Commission team, for example the view of Eugeniusz Szyr, whereby if the party wants to wage a political struggle, it cannot shun class interests. Other views were not shared by the team, for example the view of Andrzej Bajorek that the rank and file are complaining about the delays in the reforms.

The following persons spoke about the documents which the programmatic team should work out: Tadeusz Nalecz, Tadeusz Iwibnski, Mieczyslaw Kochanowski, Jacek Racuiborski, Piotr Radzikowski, Longin Pastusiak, Eugeniusz Gajda, Marek Tecza, and Zbigniew Michalek.

Tadeusz Fiszbach, chairman of the team, suggested further meetings. Next week, the team will prepare documents that reveal the points in common and the differences between the political groups, taking into account the remarks made during the present meeting.

Ceausescu Opens Bucharest International Fair

AU1410160489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1714 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 14/10/1989—On Saturday, October 14, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and president of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu attended a ceremony when the Bucharest International Fair on the theme "trade-cooperation-development-peace" opened.

The opening ceremony was attended by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, secretaries of the party's CC, members of the State Council and of the government, executives of central institutions and of mass and public organizations.

Also present were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, directors of national pavilions and representatives of the foreign companies present at this year's edition of the Bucharest International Fair, foreign press correspondents.

The 15th Bucharest International Fair opening address was delivered by Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

To the applause of the people present, the RCP and Romanian state leader cut the ribbon opening this year's edition of the fair.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu saw round the central pavilion and the open-air sites arranged for the respective economic event. [sentence as received] On display are a number of high-tech products made in Romania in all the areas of industry, construction, transport, telecommunications and other economic sectors, bespeaking the development of science and technology, as well as the expansion and diversification of this country's foreign economic relations.

The Romanian offer at the current edition of the Bucharest International Fair, a strong proof of the development and updating of the country's economy, is highly varied and complex chiefly including new and redesigned products boasting high technical and qualitative parameters. On entering the pavilions of various states, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu were welcomed with special esteem by the representatives of the governments of participating states, by heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Romania, by company executives, who thanked him for visiting the pavilions and expressed their satisfaction at being a part of that international economic and commercial event.

On the occasion, Romania's president was conveyed the salutes of heads of state and government. President Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and, in his turn, conveyed the heads of state and government of the respective countries his salute as well as the best wishes.

Throughout his visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu cordially conversed with the people come to welcome him. In that framework emphasis was placed on the fine relations between Romania and the countries present at the fair, as well as on the possibilities of the Romanian economy to intensify and expand those links, for the mutual benefit, for the benefit of the cause of collaboration, understanding and peace in the world.

President Nicolae Ceausescu examined with interest the products the participating countries, the foreign companies put on display and expressed his belief that TIB'89 would be an opportunity for (?further) knowledge of Romania's and the participating countries achievements, a favourable occasion to expand and diversify commercial exchanges between participants. The president conveyed the foreign participants in the current edition wishes of success in the making of productive exchanges, in the development of their links of economic cooperation with Romania.

Meets Soviet Delegation

AU1610220689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2021 GMT 16 Oct 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives Participant in TIB'89"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 16/10/1989—On 16 October in the afternoon, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received the delegations of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet Union Republics that take part in the current Bucharest International Trade Fair.

During the interview questions were approached related to the development of economic cooperation, to the increase and diversification of commercial exchanges between Romania and the USSR.

L.I. Grekov, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU, vice-chairman of the State Commission for Foreign Economic Relations of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, spoke on behalf of the delegation of the Soviet Union. He conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu the best wishes of success in his activity on behalf of the Government of the Soviet Union, and warmly thanked him for having received them, for the possibility they were given to participate in the present Bucharest International Trade Fair. He also expressed his satisfaction for the development of the Romanian-Soviet relations, assessing that there are ever greater possibilities to expand cooperation, production specialization and cooperation in production on the basis of the latest advances in science and technology, in the spirit of the understandings reached during summit meetings.

A.N. Mutalibov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Azerbaijan SSR, also took the floor.

President Nicolae Ceausescu saluted all the participants in the meeting and expressed his hope that the broad participation in the Bucharest International Trade Fair would help develop collaboration and relations between Romania and the Soviet Union, between Romania and the Union Republics of the Soviet Union.

The economic relations between Romania and the Soviet Union have much developed in the years of socialist construction, more particularly in the last ten years, the president said. This development was closely linked to the growth of production forces as an outcome of the implementation of the socialist construction programmes in Romania. We have actually developed all modern branches of industry, Nicolae Ceausescu said, mentioning that, apart from nuclear weapons, which we do not want to manufacture, Romanian industry can produce today everything.

Then, President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the development of the Soviet industry, a development which had made of the Soviet Union the second world power as early as 1940 and that allowed for broad collaboration in various industrial sectors between Romania and the Soviet Union. The speaker stressed the need for the products the two countries achieved to be of best quality and highest technical level.

We want, President Nicolae Ceausescu said, to expand much the relations with the Soviet Union generally. As a matter of fact, the talks conducted so far singled out possibilities for a vigorous growth of the economic exchanges, of the cooperation in production and specialization between Romania and the Soviet Union in the next five years. President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted that "during talks with Comrade Gorbachev, we reached the joint conclusion that there were great possibilities and action had to be taken on that line. We mean also the collaboration within the CMEA, in the spirit of the long-term economic, technological and scientific accords, of improving this organization of economic collaboration among the socialist countries".

There are big possibilities at hand for collaboration in agriculture, President Nicolae Ceausescu said, referring in this context to the bigger harvests of wheat and corn Romania got in the 1989 farm year.

The Romanian head of state showed that he referred to all that in the meeting with the Soviet delegations since there is much talk on a world plane now about an alleged crisis of socialism. He recalled that at the rally held today (in Bistrita City, editor's note), "I answered that Romania would never return to capitalism. Everything we have done in Romania but also what has been done in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries powerfully demonstrates the superiority of socialism, the fact that socialism alone represents the way of independent development, the future, not only for the socialist countries, but also for the whole of mankind, the speaker stressed.

True, the RCP general secretary further said, mistakes too, were done in socialist construction, work could have been better. But, discussing about this, we must look ahead, with confidence in socialism, and not look back.

Then, President Nicolae Ceausescu referred to the situation in the developed capitalist countries, where millions of people were deprived of elementary rights—the right to work, to housing, to dignified existence. I say this, he showed, since there are some who, on visiting a developed capitalist country, take the things at face value. They do not understand and seem to have never understood the reality in the capitalist world.

Stressing that the development of the collaboration among the socialist countries had to ensure the overcoming of difficulties and the progress in socioeconomic development, in raising the peoples' material and spiritual living standard, Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the confidence that Romania and the Soviet Union could achieve good collaboration, on a par with the latest gains of world science and technology. We are ready to establish adequate accords in this respect, he said, adding: as far as we are concerned, we think we must preserve the ideas of the single national plan of socioeconomic development. The accords to be concluded should rely upon good understanding and the efforts of every country, of every people, since it is only in this way that we will ensure the socioeconomic development and the successful building of socialism and communism in Romania and in the Soviet Union.

Showing that the two countries and communist parties had common positions on the international issues, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that everything should be done for disarmament and peace, all while safeguarding independence and sovereignty.

Generally speaking, the Romanian head of state said, we must not cherish the illusion that imperialism has changed its character.

The class fight has not ended and will not end as long as there are exploiting classes. The class fight will be the decisive factor of the whole activity in changing the world. And this means the consolidation of solidarity and collaboration of the communist and workers' parties, of the socialist countries to ensure the development of socialism and mankind's embarking on a new path.

The interview was attended by First Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Oprea, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei, ministers, executives of economic ministries, advisers.

Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the USSR to Bucharest, attended

Canadian Delegation Arrives for Visit

AU1810211789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1946 GMT 18 Oct 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Receives the Canadian Participants in the Fourth Session of the Romanian-Canadian Economic Council"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/10/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu received on October 18 the Canadian participants in the 4th session of the Romanian-Canadian Economic Council, that took place in Bucharest. During the meeting, problems were discussed regarding the current stage and development prospects of the economic collaboration and commercial exchanges, the ways and modalities meant to give stability and wide perspective to the Romanian-Canadian collaboration on multiple planes, to the benefit of both countries and peoples.

Taking the floor, Jacques Howett, director-general of the "Candu" industries, chairman for Canada of the Romanian-Canadian Economic Council, and Joseph Seroussi, president of the "Sertech" and "Derano Trading" firms warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the interview, for the possibility to analyze concrete aspects of development of the Romanian-Canadian relations, especially of the cooperation in nuclear energy as well as in other domains. Satisfaction was also expressed at the ever wider promotion of the Romanian products in the Canadian market, that, thanks to their quality, enjoyed ever greater appreciation, as well as the determination to further work for the diversification of the relations of collaboration between Canada and Romania, upon mutually advantageous bases, for seeking out new possibilities of collaboration, both bilaterally and in third markets. The speakers highlighted the fertile results of the current session of the Romanian-Canadian Economic Council, expressing the confidence that the understanding reached provided conditions for a broad collaboration in more sectors of activity.

In his address, Canada's ambassador in Bucharest, Saul Grey, stressed the upward course of the relations of collaboration between Romania and Canada, the progress marked in the expansion of the collaboration and cooperation on multiple planes, as well as the wish of the businessmen, of the firms and companies in Canada to enlarge ever more in future as well the collaboration with Romanian enterprises, to increase and diversify the commercial exchanges.

Taking the floor during the meeting, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his satisfaction at the spirit of understanding that prevailed during the proceedings of the Romanian-Canadian Economic Council.

True, the Romanian head of state said, since 1980 to the day, the relations between our countries have developed rather well. Sure, the building of the nuclear power plant at Cernavoda holds the decisive role in this respect. We think it is really good to do our utmost so that the first set be commissioned soon and take action for the building also of the other sets in shorter time.

We want to develop best possible collaboration in the realization of the other sets and to further ensure the cooperation for the building of seven more sets of nuclear power in Romania in the period to come. We would like to do it on a better basis than the old agreement and ensure entirely the imports from Canada on a countertrade basis, including some products from the domain of nuclear reactors. By this, I naturally mean the achievement of collaboration for building such plants in other countries. At any rate, we are ready and wish to continue the collaboration.

President Nicolae Ceausescu said he considered as possible the achievement of broad collaboration also in other domains. During my visit in Canada, the speaker said, we established, as a perspective target, a turnover of some one billion dollars in annual exchanges both ways. I think that we will able to achieve such a volume of economic exchanges in a not very long time.

President Nicolae Ceausescu considered that Romania and Canada could find ways of large collaboration in many other domains. Considering Canada's very wide area and its big reserves of raw materials, the speaker said, we are interested in a broad collaboration in this domain. On this basis, we can attain and even top the one-billion dollar mark in exchanges, both ways.

Next, President Nicolae Ceausescu said:

We have paid off the whole foreign debt, and we do not want to take any more credits. Our calculation is very simple: the interest we pay amounts to tribute and we are fed up with having paid tribute for hundreds of years, so we no longer want to pay it in future.

Referring to the programmes for Romania's economic development Nicolae Ceausescu showed: Next year we plan to make investments in excess of 30 billion dollars. During the ninth five-year plan period (1991-1995) we shall exceed 30 billion annually, we shall probably invest as much as 35-40 billion dollars annually. That is why we no longer need to borrow from abroad. We plan in no way to diminish the development of society. Quite the opposite, we want to improve socialism in Romania so that it may meet best the aspirations of our nation. No doubt that we respect other peoples' options, but we are very exacting in asking the others, too, to respect the options of our people.

We wish that also between the Romanian and the Canadian business people, irrespective of the social systems in their countries, a fine collaboration may grow upon the principle of equality and mutual advantage.

We, too, wish to make a maximum of benefit, just like you. Therefore, in this respect we can understand each other very well, said Nicolae Ceausescu.

Let us work under mutually-advantageous circumstances, respecting each other, and let us get maximal profitability and benefits each year. The Romanian enterprises and your companies can collaborate well to develop various units in other countries, under circumstances to meet also the interests of the respective countries.

That is why we believe that provided there is a will and a mutual wish we can exceed one billion dollars in our economic relations and have a mutually-advantageous long-term collaboration. As a matter of fact it is not even possible to have a collaboration with a fine outcome unless we conclude understandings for at least five to ten years.

You may be certain, President Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned, that the Romanian enterprises you are talking with are and will be viable. We think in no way to weaken them, to write them off or replace them by small enterprises. On the contrary, we plan to develop and strengthen them so that you may deal in full confidence and conclude accords with Romanian firms and enterprises in any domain of activity.

This is the prospect of development of our economy and it is along this path that we wish to develop our collaboration with Canada as actually also with other countries.

We believe that if we develop such collaboration we make an important contribution to the relations between our peoples and also to a tighter cooperation on an international plane, for disarmament and peace and for a world in which the freedom and independence of each nation is observed.

We do and will develop amply in the future too the collaboration in the world arena, Nicolae Ceausescu mentioned. We do not plan to restrict international relations in the political, economic or other domains, but we oppose the varied forms of monopoly or so-called "integration" which in fact means liquidating national independence. We favour collaboration among equal, independent countries. And let me tell you straight, my belief is that this prospect is for a very long term. No matter how many attempts are and will be made to liquidate the independence of various states, this will be of no avail. In any case, the beginning of millennium three will be the beginning of a still stronger assertion of the peoples' and the states' independence, of their wish to collaborate based on principles of equality, and to reject any interference in the domestic affairs. We collaborate in order to use the nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, but it would be very well for us to collaborate also in order to liquidate the nuclear arms and any sources of using the nuclear energy for the destruction of man and of world in general.

Participating were First Deputy Prime Minister Ion Dinca, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei, ministers, counselors and experts.

Saul Grey, Canadian ambassador to Bucharest, was present.

Council Ends Session

AU1810181189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1729 GMT 18 Oct 89

["Conclusion of Romanian-Canadian Economic Council's Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 18/10/1989—The fourth session of the Romanian-Canadian Economic Council came to an end on October 18.

Questions of mutual interest were discussed regarding the further development of the Romanian-Canadian economic relations, as well as the possibilities and ways to amplify and diversify the industrial and technical bilateral cooperation and on third markets between Romanian enterprises and Canadian firms and the speeding up of the bilateral goods exchanges.

The chairmen for the two countries of the council signed the protocol of the session at the close of the proceedings.

More Water Needed for Economy to Grow

AU1810104389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 18 Oct 89

["An Efficient Water Management Policy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 18/10/1989—In Romania inland rivers are the main water resource that covers more than 80,000 km. In comparison with the water resources on earth Romania has only 65 billion cubic meters or so, of which 35 billion in its inland rivers, two billion cubic meters in natural lakes, eight billion cubic meters underground and almost 20 billion cubic meters in the Danube. With this natural resource Romania ranks below the average on a planetary as well as on a European scale. Each inhabitant avails of 1,600 cubic meters of water, which places Romania 22nd among the European countries.

A high-rate growth of the economy requires ever greater quantities of water in industry, agriculture and human settlements. Part and parcel of the national wealth it should be managed well. Consequently this year the Romanian Parliament endorsed a water management law that is applied in compliance with the growing demands for the intensive development of the country.

Ever larger quantities of water can be used as an outcome of extensive water improvement works especially through the building of storage lakes whose volume is to amount to 34 billion cubic meters. So, the country's economy could develop normally having enough quantities of water.

One of the major questions related to environmental protection is water treatment, for which the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and Romanian state show great concern providing all the means technical, administrative, legislative and economico-financial necessary to protect its quality and prevent its pollution.

The water management law is particularly firm as it forbids water pollution and the putting into operation of water users in industry, agriculture, and settlements if waste water treatment plants are not concomitantly operated.

To prevent water pollution Romania has committed important technical means and human forces. Four Thousand water treatment stations were built through great financial efforts. By implementing a special programme, about 1,000 new water purification plants are to be built till 1990. The national water management council controls the quality of water across the country through its nearly 50 departments. Every day, every month and every year information bulletins, reports and surveys regarding the dynamics of water quality are worked out. The decisions following the supply of such data make a basis for programmes and measures apt to prevent water pollution, and purify urban and industrial waste water. Attempts are made to replace high polluting technologies by non- or low-polluting ones.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 14-20 Oct

AU2210222089

[Editorial report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 14-20 October period (source of each report given in parentheses): Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee [PEC] of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and Vasile Milea, PEC candidate member, attended a symposium on Romanian Army Day in Bucharest on 18 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1936 GMT 18 Oct 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu and wife, Elena Ceausescu, opened the Bucharest International Fair on 14 October (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1714 GMT 14 Oct 89) and on the same day, they began a visit to Bistrita County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 14 Oct 89) On 15 October, Ceausescu and wife continued their visit to Bistrita County. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 15 Oct 89) On 16 October Ceausescu visited industrial units in Bistrita County (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1605 GMT 16 Oct 89), met with Bistrita County party bureau, (Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Oct 89 p 4) and addressed a mass rally in Bistrita Municipality. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0930 GMT 16 Oct 89) On the same day, leaving for Bucharest, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu stopped over in Tirgu Mures. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1742 GMT 16 Oct 89) and, in the afternoon, Nicolae Ceausescu received a Soviet delegation that participated in the Bucharest International Fair, in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2021 GMT 6 Oct 89)

On 18 October Nicolae Ceausescu received the new Cypriot ambassador's credentials (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1938 GMT 18 Oct 89) and a Canadian delegation in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1946 GMT 18 Oct 89) Nicolae Ceausescu received an Australian businessman (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1631 GMT 19 Oct 89) and the Iranian deputy foreign minister in Bucharest on 19 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 19 Oct 89) On 20 October, Nicolae Ceausescu chaired a PEC meeting on agriculture and supplies issues, in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 20 Oct 89)

Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, received the governor of the town of Damascus, in Bucharest on 20 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 20 Oct 89)

Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania, received the Albanian minister of food industry (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1914 GMT 17 Oct 89) and a Zairian trade official in Bucharest on 17 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 17 Oct 89) He received CSSR Vice Premier Jaromir Obzina in Bucharest on 20 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 20 Oct 89) Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister of Romania, received Hungarian deputy interior minister Gyula Sos, in Bucharest on 20 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1816 GMT 20 Oct 89)

Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of Romania, met with Milan Pavic, president of the Chamber of Economy of the SFRY, in Bucharest on 17 October (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1925 GMT 17 Oct 89)

Ion Stoian, PEC candidate member, received a Czechoslovak youth delegation in Bucharest on 17 October. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 17 Oct 89)

TANJUG Examines Leadership Change in GDR

LD1910100289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0430 GMT 19 Oct 89

["German Democratic Republic: What After Honecker"—TANJUG headline; by Djordje Milosevic]

[Text] Berlin, October 19 (TANJUG)—For 18 years Erich Honecker was No. one party and state figure in the German Democratic Republic without whom no major decision could be made. On Wednesday Honecker, of his own will, handed over his baton to Egon Krenz, 25 years his younger, who is now faced with the need to respond to demands for social reforms. The demands have simply erupted and in a month or two culminated in mass demonstrations by over 100,000 people in Leipzig.

At a plenum which had been announced here long ago, Honecker asked to be relieved of all his party and state posts.

Formally, Honecker stepped down for reasons of poor health, but the real reasons are primarily political. He himself stated that he was lacking the strength to come to grips with the tasks facing the party.

The new party leader is a 52-year-old politician, whose career started while he was still young.

Observers in Berlin believe that Krenz, who has no reputation of a (?"reformer") was elected to succeed Honecker as the state and party leader on the outgoing politician's own wish and proposal. They recall that a few days ago Krenz advocated a course of "continuity and renewal," which does not imply any substantive changes in society as demands by "opposition groups" and citizens. It is also being recalled that Krenz, who recently headed his country's delegation on a visit to China, extended on behalf of the GDR state and party leadership support to the Chinese leaders in following their present course.

Many observers in Berlin also see the (?retirement) of two Politbureau members, Joachim Hermann and Guenter Mittag who were in charge of propaganda and the economy, respectively, as a sure indication of the direction developments will follow. The two officials were considered "conservative." The public is particularly indignant at the press, which it believes is publishing half-truths and passing tacitly over many vital facts affecting the life of society.

The new party leader, who will also be elected head of state at the next session of the Volkskammer (People's Assembly), addressed the nation over television. Although he did not announce any "revolutionary novelties," observers note that he mentioned a number of major changes in relation to the current practice. This relates above all to a matter of the utmost interest to all citizens of the German Democratic Republic—liberalization of travel. Krenz asked that the press be a "forum for the exchange of views" and criticized the official party organ and television as "being not up to" the present moment. He urged them to change much in their practice.

Observers hold that Krenz, in his first address to the nation, presented himself as a "man of compromise." For the moment, they say, this too is a good omen for new currents in the German Democratic Republic.

Loncar Message on Cuban Relations Anniversary

LD2010190489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY, has sent a telegram to Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, Cuban minister of foreign relations, on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the SFRY and the Republic of Cuba. The telegram says inter alia that the past 3 decades have been filled with friendship and rich and substantial cooperation in the most varied fields. "We can ascertain with pleasure that through constant and open dialogue, we have succeeded in building relations which open up new prospects for their further consolidation and enrichment with new content. Proceeding above all from our mutual needs and interests, we have succeeded in significantly developing our economic cooperation, which has shown increasingly noteworthy results from year to year. Our common membership and active role in the great family of nonaligned countries commits us in the future as well to making our full contribution to the further affirmation of the movement of nonaligned countries with the aim of making its activity more modern and effective. On the occasion of the marking of this important date in the history of our relations, I wish to assure you of our detemination to continue to consistently invest fresh efforts for the further strengthening of overall cooperation among our nonaligned socialist countries in the interests of peace and progress in the world. I am also taking this opportunity to wish you, esteemed colleague, much success in your future work and personal happiness."

Bosnia-Hercegovina Debates Serb Security Action

Denies Serbian Destabilization

LD1910103489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0018 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Sarajevo, October 18 (TANJUG)—(?Senior) official of Yugoslavia's Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Wednesday denied charges against the security service of Serbia for allegedly acting on the territory of the republic with intent to destabilize it.

The official, Branko Ekert, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, thus directly replied to a number of serious charges which Dr Ivan Cvitkovic, secretary of the republic's League of Communists Central Committee Presidency, levelled at the largest Yugoslav republic in a speech in Citluk on Tuesday. Dr Cvitkovic claimed that there was a scenario to "destabilize Bosnia-Hercegovina and compromise its leadership" and threatened to demand a debate on this matter in the Yugoslav State Presidency and the federal government.

Talking to newsmen in Sarajevo today, Ekert stated explicitly that the Serbian police "did not act on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina" and "did not violate existing rules there."

Dr Cvitkovic could not be reached for comment on Ekert's statement, although members of the (?Council for) Information of the republic's Socialist Alliance organization today also asked him to speak.

Presidency Assesses Action

LD2010010189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2326 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—A section of the State Security Service of Yugoslavia's republic Serbia has engaged itself in an "incautious activity" of examining the political state of affairs in the neighbouring republic Bosnia-Hercegovina (RBH)—it was assessed today by the RBH party Presidency which understands that this activity was an "attack on the sovereignty" of the RBH.

"What is concerned is an impermissble activity, the responsibility for which should be borne not by the State Security Service but by who assigned it with such a task"—Ivan Cvitkovic, secretary of the RBH party Presidency, told a news conference here today.

Cvitkovic otherwise was first to inform the general public two days ago about the delicate excess, and presented the assertion that there existed a scenario aimed at a destabilization of the multi-national Bosnia-Hercegovina in which Moslems, Serbs and Croats live, and aimed also at "compromising this republic's leadership." He also said then that the RBH would seek clarification from the leadership of Serbia, and would demand a debate on this matter in the Yugoslav State Presidency and in the federal government.

The RBH party leadership maintains that it would be necessary to publish the full text of the information from the Serbian Security Service about the instances of moving out of the population of Serbian nationality from the RBH because this information "contained nothing that would account for a state secret." Ivan Cvitkovic today said, however, that the said information contained, in his view, "serious political appraisals" concerning the situation in a part of the RBH, the inter-nationality relations in this republic, and individual leaders and situation in certain Bosnian-Hercegovinian enterprises.

"The problems of migrations must be discussed, but political appraisals about them shall not be given by the State Security Service," said Cvitkovic. He assessed as good the relations between the leaderships of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia, and added "we do not want (these relations) be troubled by some go-betweens."

But Bosnian-Hercegovinian officials apparently do not think about the emergent dispute in the same way. Thus, member of the republic's Presidency Branko Ekert stated yesterday that the Security Service of Serbia "has not violated the existing rules" and that "it has not acted on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina," but its information nonetheless contained "serious professional shortcomings."

Officials Divided Over Serbia

AU2210180089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 22 Oct 89

[Ljubo Nikolic report from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Excerpt] For some time now Fuad Muhic, Muhamed Abadzic, Nijaz Skenderagic, and like-minded people have been presenting Serbia and its leadership to the Bosnian public in the worst light. This was also demonstrated at the last session of the Republican Central Committee on 13 October. Later, they were joined by Milan Uzelac who said in a Sarajevo television program that Slobodan Milosevic and the Serbian leadership are contributing toward the fomentation of quarrels in the country. The culminating point in opposing the Serbian policies was the speech by Ivan Cvitkovic, secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, at a political forum discussion in Citluk.

According to a TANJUG report, Cvitkovic said that some sections of the state security service of Serbia indulged themselves in drawing a picture of the top Bosnian leaders by making political appraisals concerning the situation in this republic.

The appropriate Bosnian organs will seek an answer and explanation from the relevant Serbian organs. After that they will (?initiate) a discussion in the Federal Executive Council and the SFRY Presidency, Cvitkovic said.

Meanwhile Ljubo Ninkovic, secretary of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, also commented on this claiming that the state security service of Serbia has been working on an analysis about the emigration of Serbs from Bosnia.

The statement made by Branko Ekert, member of the Bosnian Presidency and president of the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional System, in which he rejected Cvitkovic's statement, came as a surprise to journalists and the public. The Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia did not act on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Ekert said, adding that this organ did have a report on some phenomena and reasons for emigration under duress from some neighboring Bosnian communes to Serbia. Ekert said that all facts have not been established as yet, and that the appropriate organs of the two republics and the federation are working on this.

A day later, on Friday, the Presidium of the Republican Central Committee issued a statement defending its secretary Ivan Cvitkovic.

I did not say anything about comments on the top leadership of Bosnia-Hercegovina. I did not say anything about any comments concerning the top Bosnian leaders. I was only referring to the officials of two communes. I stick to all my other claims. I do not know why Branko Ekert has radically changed his view. This should be established by the organ of which he is a member, Cvitkovic said.

So, this is how short circuits and differences in views on a very delicate issue occurred between the Bosnian Presidency and the Central Committee which are only some 500 meters away from each other. Much is being said about this in the public and the general impression is that this was yet another instance of polarization and different views on Serbia and its leadership.

Instead of this being discussed publicly in some forum, it appears that some officials are deliberately trying to choose the moment and the public to reveal secrets and attack the organs of other republic. After all, one thing is clear. Some Bosnian officials are deeply involved in interrepublican quarrels and squabbling despite the fact that they all claim that they are the catalysts of our situation and events, that they are trying to reconcile the quarreling sides, and that they are the defenders of the Yugoslavia founded of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. [passage omitted]

'Misunderstanding' Over Action

*LD2510110589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0103 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Text] Belgrade, oct 24 (TANJUG)—The Serbian security service did not stretch its authority and "take measures and actions" on the territory of the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said a statement issued tonight by the Yugoslav Interior Ministry.

The statement is a reply to accusations of the Bosnia-Hercegovina party Presidency which said last Thursday that the Serbian security service was probing the political situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and described the activity as an "attack on the sovereignty" of Yugoslavia's central republic.

The cause for the misnderstanding was a statement issued last summer by the Serbian security service which said that Serbs were leaving certain communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina—a multi-national republic inhabited by Serbs, Croats and Muslims.

Ivan Cvitkovic, a ranking party official from Bosnia-Hercegovina, described the Serbian security service statement as a plot to destabilize Bosnia-Hercegovina and "discredit its leadership."

The federal Interior Ministry statement said that the Serbian security service made the controversial statement without previously consulting "colleagues" from Bosnia-Hercegovina and on the basis of information which had not been confirmed and accurate. Thus, the impression that the Serbian security service was making political qualifications about the interethnic relations on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the federal Interior Ministry statement said.

Front Rejects Action Report

*AU2510134589 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Oct 89*

[Text] The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot accept the statement that the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has issued regarding the activities of the Serbian state security service on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Because of the political implications, the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance has decided to request that the SFRY Presidency, the collective head of state, together with the Council for the Protection of the Constitutional Order, quickly publishes all three controversial reports that are not strictly confidential.

Bosnian SAWP Discusses Serb Nationalism

*AU2410204489 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 89*

[Text] The session of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Bosnia-Hercegovina is under way in Sarajevo. The members are discussing reform and interethnic relations. Among other people, Jelena Milojevic, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, spoke at the session. Here is a report by Ljubomir Nikolic:

In her introductory speech, Edina Residovic, president of the Republican Conference, devoted the most attention to interethnic relations in the republic, so interrepublican quarrels and occurrences of nationalism were mentioned during the debate which followed her speech much more often than the ways out of the economic crisis.

Edina Residovic said the main culprits for the aggravation of the political situation and of interethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina are nationalists in other communities who are attacking this republic and the press outside Bosnia-Hercegovina which helps them do so.

All nationalisms are equally dangerous; they differ only in their intensity and methods. However, with regard to Serbian nationalism, one can say that it has a more offensive approach toward Bosnia-Hercegovina, Edina Residovic said.

Nationalism is absolutely our greatest evil and we have to stop it and turn toward reforms and toward creating conditions for a better life, Jelena Milojevic, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, said, among other things. She added that this can be done only in a Yugoslavia that has harmonious attitudes.

The session in Sarajevo will continue tomorrow.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Presidium to Meet

LD2410090989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 125 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—It was decided during the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Bosnia-Hercegovina today that, instead of being held on Friday, 27 October, as announced earlier, the next session of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be held on Monday 30 October this year.

The date of the session has been shifted because a session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee has been convened for that day.

Serb SAWP on 'Assessments' of POLITIKA

AU2410202789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Text] At their session today the members of the Republican Conference Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia touched upon the assessment of the newspaper POLITIKA which had been made at the Belgrade Old Town Commune and on which most dailies reported today.

Presidium Secretary Dejan Milovanovic told Presidium members that the founder of POLITIKA, the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance, had not been consulted about the matter. Since what was involved were, as Milovanovic put it, unacceptable assessments, it is necessary to urgently hold a meeting of the Section for Information of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance and adopt an appropriate stand on the issue.

Smole 'Satisfied' With Visit to Serbia

AU1910205689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 89 p 1

[D. Drazic, Lj. Popovic, and V. Krsmanovic report: "We Need Permanent Contacts"]

[Text] Krusevac, 15 Oct—Prior to the departure of the Brotherhood and Unity Train from Krusevac, Radmila Andjelkovic and Joze Smole, presidents of the Republican Conferences of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia and Slovenia, made statements to BORBA.

Joze Smole thanked the hosts on the warm welcome and said:

"I am very satisfied with the exceptional hospitality of our friends in Serbia. Even before this visit we knew that warm hospitality is awaiting us. I must add that at this moment this hospitality has a special role, because it is displayed at the time when the economic situation in our country is very grave. As a participant in this train I will say that this tradition will remain and survive. The citizens are more than obviously in favor of its survival. We need this train just as we need to talk with each other, just as the two republics need to communicate with each other in order to better understand each other. We need permanent contacts, because talks make us realize how insufficiently informed we are, and being insufficiently informed contributes to misunderstandings," president of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People said.

Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia:

"What we have experienced between last Friday in Belgrade and now here in Krusevac, is something that should have been seen. Great welcome and great cordiality. True, there were also tears among the Slovenes who were enthusiastic about the reception. They expressed everything in the only possible way—through tears and emotions. This is indeed rarely experienced.

"All contacts and the arrival and departure of ordinary people from Slovenia have been very touching. I went through the entire train, I went to see all passengers from Slovenia and I had the same reception everywhere. Almost all of them said: 'Serbia is our second home.' This year's 'Brotherhood and Unity' train has demonstrated that there is no force that can alienate people, friends, that can disturb economic and even political relations between the two peoples, the Slovene and Serbian peoples. This has been the case since 1941. The anxiety about how the Slovene were going to be received in Serbia was shown to be unfounded.

Serbian LC Central Committee Holds Session

Statute Changes

LD2310141289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—We should consider the proposed changes to the Serbian League of Communist [LC] statute, primarily from the point of view of the extent to which they represent the further democratization of relations in the LC, Ratomir Vico, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium said in his introductory remarks at today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, where a debate is being conducted on changes and addenda to the Serbian LC Statute.

Today's session is expected to elect 36 of 102 candidates for delegates to the Serbian Assembly's Sociopolitical Chamber from the Serbian LC Central Committee. It is expected that the date and place for holding the 11th Serbian LC Congress will be established.

Members Dismissed

LD2410085589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The Serbian League of Communists [LC] Central Committee held a session in Belgrade today to discuss proposed changes in the statute of the Serbian LC and to set the date for its next congress. The Serbian LC Central Committee also elected 36 delegates to the Serbian Assembly's Socio-Political Chamber from the Serbian LC.

"Following this election, the Central Committee dismissed Sadik Sadiku, Radovan Vukasinovic, and Mirce Bundra from their membership of the Central Committee.

"Sadik Sadiku was dismissed at an initiative by the Kosovska Kamenica LC municipal committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee for, according to an explanation, failure to carry out the Serbian LC Central Committee's stands in contravention of the party statute. Sadiku blamed solely Serbian nationalism for the situation in Kosovo and described the meetings of solidarity as actions against Albanian nationality and other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia for which main responsibility lies with the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Serbian LC Central Committee. A statement by Ali Sukrija on the situation in Kosovo was seen by Sadiku as a calculated gesture aimed at scoring points with the masses.

"Radovan Vukasinovic and Mirce Bundra were dismissed at the initiative of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee for their support for the policy advocating excessive autonomy. In response to the current situation in Titovo Uzice, the Serbian LC Central Committee today passed a decision to form three working groups. One of these groups will immediately after the session leave for Titovo Uzice where, with the help of the communists and basic LC organizations of the town and in line with the Serbian LC policy, it will try to prevent further divisions and find an urgent solution for overcoming current state of affairs so that a municipal LC conference and elections could be held as soon as possible. This working group will also take political and cadre measures in Sevojno in order to return the rolling mill there to normal operation as soon as possible.

"The other two working groups have the task to establish if and to what extent Miloje Milovanovic and Gligorije Jankovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, contributed to the difficult situation in Titovo Uzice and to examine the degree of their responsibility.

"The decision to form the working groups was made at a proposal of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee which met today during an interval. The Presidium passed the decision after it heard a report by its member Vlajko Petkovic who visited Titovo Uzice recently.

"Reporting to the Central Committee about the Presidium's stands, Milomir Minic said that the Presidium had concluded that the situation in Titovo Uzice was very complicated and that, unless steps were taken immediately, further complications should not be excluded. The Presidium agreed that current problems in Titovo Uzice and Sevojno resulted form the municipal leadership's passive and opportunist attitude to long-existing problems and, of late, to workers' demands."

LC Congress 15-17 Dec

LD2410083289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1723 GMT 23 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Oct (TANJUG)—The 11th Congress of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] will be held on 15-17 December 1989 in Belgrade's Sava Center. The main topic to be discussed at the congress will be "the Serbian LC in the struggle for social reform and its own democratic transformation".

A decision to this effect was made today at a session of the Serbian LC Central Committee which has just ended in Belgrade following the formation of a number of working groups with the task of improving the situation and establishing responsibility for developments in Titovo Uzice.

Montenegro's Bulatovic on 'Call To Arms'

AU2110182689 Titograd POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Oct 89 p 6

[Unattributed report on interview with Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, published in Ljubljana TELEKS: "Let Us Be Honest"—date not given]

[Text] Ljubljana, 12 Oct—Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Montenegro, has given an interview to the Ljubljana weekly magazine TELEKS. Asked in this interview, among other things, how he "made a call to arms at the meeting in Titograd," Bulatovic replied: "Let us be honest and dissect each one of my sentences. If need be, we will carry out an expert analysis. One group at the protest meeting in Titograd at that time was shouting the slogan: 'We want arms.' All sorts of things could be heard in such a crowd. And anything can happen: As you see, someone can even think of demanding arms. I do not know how someone else would have acted in my position to calm down that part of the crowd, but I tried to bring them down to earth precisely with these words: Arms exist, but they are in another place and not in the streets."

[Question] In the next sentence you say that you have these arms, is that really true?

[Bulatovic] Of course, we have arms, but do not ignore the next sentence. In it I nicely said that I do not have these arms nor does anyone else in the crowd but they are in the hands of the Yugoslav People's Army. That is, in the place where they should be. Many people could hardly wait to interpret this sentence as if I was more or less declaring a military putsch, as if, for God's sake, I was asking the Army to occupy Slovenia tomorrow.

[Question] In what other way do you interpret this key sentence?

[Bulatovic] In the way that it sounds and the way it is meant. Any benevolent person could conclude from this sentence that I wanted to pacify such a large crowd with these words and to tell them that arms could not and should not be discussed, let alone asked for on the street, and that there is someone in this system who is responsible for arms, and that is the Army. If arms are already being demanded, then they should be demanded from the Army, and it is well known who makes the decision on the Army using weapons, and how this decision is made.

[Question] You are not making yourself too clear.

[Bulatovic] Whoever wants to understand will understand that I only said at that meeting that arms cannot be discussed at meetings and in the streets, but that the SFRY Presidency above all is the only office to decide on this and that only the forces of the Yugoslav People's Army can use them to intervene in any part of the country, in line with the law and the decisions of the state Presidency. That is all that I said and that is my main thought, and I do not in any way see why any other conclusions should be drawn from this. One should only see what is written in it.

[Question] Do not ignore the end of your speech when you said that you personally and others at the meeting could be counted on without exception, with weapons of course.

[Bulatovic] Of course, but why does that particular sentence seem so controversial to you?

[Question] Because it makes a call for arms. And there has been enough saber rattling in this country. Even too much.

[Bulatovic] Of course, but study well the sentence that is supposedly controversial. Its basic meaning is, if the Army uses weapons anywhere, we will all, both Montenegrins and Slovenes, be on the same side. You are probably a military conscript too and this has to be known if the Army calls on us all to defend the country (from anyone); it is clear that all of us who are obliged to defend the country will defend it. That is why I said that if need be we will, in line with the SFRY Constitution, defend the territorial integrity and inviolability of Yugoslavia even in this way. Therefore, in line with the constitution of this country and the decisions that are made by the state Presidency, I said that the Army can depend on us all, because we were all then in the same place, at the same meeting, and we were all military conscripts. I must again particularly stress so that there will not be any additional disagreements: only when a decision is made exclusively by the collective head of state, and that is the SFRY Presidency, can people take up arms, and in no other way. If this decision is made, then it is understood that we and all those at the Titograd meeting will take up arms. I am more afraid of every word that I say because it is measured according to 100 criteria. Thus I again repeat to you that the essence of my speech is the one single thought that only the SFRY Presidency and the Yugoslav People's Army can decide about arms, and no one else. Was that not clear in my speech, did I really make a mistake here?

[Question] Not even General Simic understood you very well. Even though, as commissar, he is responsible for understanding even what cannot be understood.

[Bulatovic] The essence of my speech is the same as that of Simic's statement. That is to say, only the Army, on the orders of the SFRY Presidency, as the collective supreme command, can decide about arms in this country and there is and cannot be any dispute about this. The two of us spoke about the same thing in different ways.

[Question] Nevertheless, the call at the meeting to take up arms was aimed solely against Slovenia.

[Bulatovic] That protest against the Slovene amendments to the Constitution really was spontaneous. No one in the state organs in Montenegro could have organized it, and this is the condition to understanding that there can be no calculations whatsoever on this subject. The people came out onto the streets by themselves. They organized themselves and arrived at the Montenegrin Assembly by themselves. They should not be ashamed not only of this meeting but of all other meetings. Finally, there have also been enough meetings in the Slovene Assembly itself because of various issues and problems. Who can prohibit the people from going out into the streets. And why would anyone prohibit this at all? Had we been lucky and the people had gathered in these meetings earlier, the country would not be in the situation that it is in now. Every gathering was a controversial act, almost as if they were against the very state where the holders of the meetings live. To put it simply, at all of these meetings, the people say what they think. A piece of democracy has been offered to the people and they are heartily biting into it. There is nothing bad in this.

Denies Giving TELEKS Interview

AU2110190889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14-15 Oct 89 p 10

[TANJUG report: "Interview 'Off the Cuff'"]

[Text] Titograd, 13 Oct—I discovered in the 13 October edition of POBJEDA that I had given an interview to the Ljubljana weekly magazine TELEKS. Despite previous experience, I was surprised because I thought that our press still has at least a minimum of professional ethics, stressed Momir Bulatovic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro in a statement given to TANJUG.

Momir Bulatovic explained: "I met the man who introduced himself as a TELEKS journalist on my return from East Berlin before I reached passport and customs control (?) at Belgrade airport. The 10 altered sentences that remain recorded on his concealed tape recorder, contain my clear categorical stand that I will not be giving any statements whatsoever before the session of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The question of how this conversation was turned into an interview should be answered by the journalist himself and the TELEKS editorial board. If some publications can publish even nonexistent interviews, then not even the obvious (or perhaps, only illusory) good intentions of the author can help to eliminate mutual disagreements.

"Considering the drastic nature of this example of public disinformation and complete lack of journalistic professionalism, I can state with regret that my previous assessments concerning a media war have once again been confirmed. I am aware that this denial will not have too much of a practical effect and that some editorial boards will continue as usual. Despite this, I considered it my duty to inform the public of the matter," concluded Momir Bulatovic.

Col Gen Buncic Speaks on Political Situation

AU2410100189 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 89 p 3

[Report on the speech by Colonel General Simeon Buncic, member of the LCY Central Committee, at the electoral conference of the LCY Organization in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on 28 September: "The Army With the People in the Defense Formation"]

[Text] The current events that we are witnessing and taking part in, the events that are profoundly affecting the conscience and behavior of the people, are creating a general and yet a special political climate. In their essence these events are the expression of this climate in which our society, our economy, political institutions, and many other fields of life and work have been present for a long time.

It is quite logical and socially justifiable that the people and even entire organizations of the League of Communists [LC] and the system's institutions should react to specific events in the way they assess, see, and experience them. However, how certain events are seen and evaluated in some communities and how these communities react to them does not always depend on the nature of these events, but primarily on the extent to which we have truly and properly understood the connection between one event and another, to what extent we have understood their causes and what they mean from the point of view of our future, that is to say from the point of view of the further development of the fundamental values of our revolution, among which the most prominent are brotherhood and unity, the equality of our peoples and nationalities, socialist self-management, the role of the workers class and working people based on self-managing, the unity and stability of Yugoslavia, the inviolability of our borders and everything that we have achieved during our revolution under the leadership of the LC and Comrade Tito.

If we look at the latest events from this point of view, especially those concerning the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, as well as the vociferous reaction in connection with the alteration of internal borders and their correction in relation to neighboring countries, and if we try to explain to ourselves the meaning of what has happened and is happening as a reaction to these events, then it is necessary to note among other things the following facts.

Proven Readiness to Defend Country

Our country is indeed in a very serious and complicated situation. We are burdened by quarrels and a lack of unity in the leadership. We are fighting too much over what kind of LC we want, what kind of political system we should build, what kind of measures we should undertake to curb current inflation and the enormous price levels, and so forth. However, when people feel, when they notice that somebody is thinking about or trying to threaten the territorial integrity of Yugoslavia, then all other problems are pushed aside. Entire society, as a single society, raises on its feet to let the entire world know that we are ready to defend our country, its entirety, and the inviolability of its borders with all means. This is only a reaction to a thought or indications that the borders of the SFRY will perhaps be altered in some situation. What would happen if somebody really tried to secede or to foolishly toy with the idea of altering the internal borders of the SFRY? Our society has provided answers to such questions a long time ago.

We in the army did not raise this question because this question is completely irrational. Let those who are offering a life in a different system with different territorial divisions think about it. There is nothing more natural, more understandable, more normal than that our army and entire armed forces should always, and now, get together with people and progressive forces from all over Yugoslavia to defend the social order and the territorial integrity of the SFRY. After all, the army exists to defend together with the people the country and every part of it.

So far, by its conduct, unity, and clarity of its views, our army has earned a very high reputation in society. The army has become an important stabilizing factor in the

SFRY. What has been proposed by the army concerning the current preparations for the LCY congress, changes in the political system, and other reforms, has been received by society with great trust. This is where our great duty and special responsibility lie. We must be up to the current, specific historic moment. We must be prepared to properly fulfill the increased duties in front of us. The most important thing is to preserve our unity and moral strength, to remain the army of all our peoples and nationalities and to protect our workers-class, national, and revolutionary character. Everybody knows about the social strength, role, and place of the army in our society. Anticommunists, nationalists, as well as well-intentioned people and patriots know this too.

Impudent Insinuations and Lies at Army's Expense

Our people, and not only our people, are very familiar with the ideopolitical essence and aims of what we generally refer to as the "attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army." However, recently we have experienced some new phenomena of that kind, such as the attempts to question the army cadre's general Yugoslav profile and political orientation. In some public information media the army is said to hold narrow regional republican orientations. Our publicly announced political statements are pedantically examined with the aim of proving with some quotations taken out of context or in some other way that the army is close to accepting or that it has already accepted one or the other political concept. We have also noticed that some individuals, who otherwise know the army very well, are trying to use the army party organization in order to gain some advantages over others or even to use it (the party organization) to demonstrate the validity of the theses they advocate. Our duty is to identify and resolutely oppose such political games with the army. The army cannot be anybody's means of realizing particularist interests. The army is and can be the striking force of the entire defense and self-protection system only if it is developing and if it is realizing its role in the way this was built in its social being and contained in Tito's thought on the role of a military force in a self-managing socialist society. We must train our cadres and conceptualize our entire future development on these foundations and on this theoretical inheritance. At the same time this will be the best answer to those who are promoting the theses that the army is against a further democratization of social relations in an organized and well thought out way, those who are promoting the theses that the army is the advocate of emergency states, or even the permanent threat to the being of this or that nation. The theses of this kind belong to the arsenal of lies and manipulations. This is why we must explain their essence, reject them, and demonstrate the insanity of attempts to use the army to frighten people. The opponents of our revolution are those who should be afraid of the army and people because the army is part of the people, it serves the people, and, after all, it exists for the people.

What Kind Of Yugoslavia Do We Want

We all worry about the question: What will happened with Yugoslavia? Where does this situation lead to? It is not easy to come up with completely certain answers to these questions. We have been going through a crisis for some time. At present we are at some kind of a crossroads. We are preparing for the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY at which we should adopt a platform on what kind of political system we are going to build. At the same time we need to transform the LCY and decide on its future role, organization, and actions. We need to establish the ideological bases for a new constitution and adopt basic documents on the economic and political reform. So, we are talking about the preparation of the documents which should provide some kind of answer to the question on what kind of Yugoslavia we want, how we want to and whether we can overcome the crisis. At present there are several platforms about that and a battle is being waged over them.

What will be the decisive factor in this battle? First of all we must do everything we can to control our nerves, to calmly, democratically, humanely, and sensibly find the answers which will suit to all our peoples, the workers class, and society as a whole. Solutions cannot be found and imposed by force, because those solutions that have been imposed with force must be maintained with force. This is something no system in the world can sustain forever. We should know that from history.

The most important thing in solving our problem is to make significant shifts in the economic sphere, in the economic reform, shifts that will make people's lives easier. In this way we will partly push aside the burden of political clashes, battles, and so forth. When people live better political quarrels are less important in understanding everything that has been happening on the political scene.

We are convinced that the concept offered by the Federal Executive Council regarding economic reforms, which received the full support of all our republics and provinces, contains solutions which are creating opportunities, giving answers to the questions as to how to speed up economic growth and achieve what we want in economic life. Therefore we do not understand the reasons behind the general denial of the Federal Executive Council, nor the aims which some people want to achieve with this.

Speaking about that, the Federal Executive Council should, of course, make some moves faster and more resolutely, especially in its fight against inflation.

Army Sees No Reason To Intervene in Crisis

LD2510110489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0001 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 24 (TANJUG)—There is no reason for the army to 'take matters into its own hands' in

Yugoslavia, Yugoslav Assistant Defence Secretary Lt-Gen Simeon Buncic said here this evening.

Gen Buncic was taking part in a phone-in round-table discussion in a Belgrade television studio.

He said that there had been speculation to this effect due to the crisis in the country, but emphasized that the role of the army as guardian of the territorial integrity and constitutional order of the country had been clearly defined under the Yugoslav Constitution, to which the army would firmly adhere.

In reply to a question put to him by a spectator, another participant in the discussion, Deputy Defence Secretary Vice-Admiral Stane Brovet said that the army upheld the concept of development of political pluralism in Yugoslavia, but specified that here he had in mind 'non-party pluralism'.

This term is used in Yugoslavia to denote political groupings which do not grow into separate parties, but act within the Socialist Alliance, the political organization with the largest membership in the country.

He explained the army's opposition to the introduction of a multi-party system by assessing that the programmes of most movements in Yugoslavia which have the ambition to become parties contain elements of extreme nationalism, anti-socialism, confederalism and even separatism, which is absolutely unacceptable.

In the view of Vice-Admiral Brovet, rivalry on the national level would only threaten Yugoslav unity, and the power struggle inherent in a multi-party system could certainly not take Yugoslavia out of the crisis, but would only deepen this crisis and even jeopardize the country's integrity.

Vice-Admiral Brovet reiterated the stand voiced at the Yugoslav party plenum last week that, in a multi-party system, the Yugoslav People's Army would have to change both its name and its character, as it would turn from a popular into a professional paid army in the service of the party in power.

He set out the reasons for the army's opposition to the recently adopted amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, amendments which the top Yugoslav state and party organs have described as being at odds with the federal Constitution. He further said that the exercise of the right to self-determination, including the right to secession, as envisaged under one of the six controversial amendments, would prevent the army from doing its duty as guardian of the country's territorial integrity.

The army upholds the stand of the top state organs that, until the final ruling of the Yugoslav constitutional court in the matter, the federal Constitution and laws apply throughout the territory of the country, and the army would adhere to this, affirmed Vice-Admiral Brovet, himself an ethnic Slovene.

Brovet Comments on Political Pluralism

LD2110222189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0901 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—Delegates discussed changes to the political system, the crisis in socialism and the role of pluralism in Yugoslavia.

"Dimitrije Baucal then, in his capacity as chairman of the electoral commission, informed the Central Committee of the results of the repeated voting to elect a member of the Yugoslav League of Communists [LCY] Central Committee from the Macedonian LC [League of Communists]. Out of 128 members present, 123 voted. Sixty-nine LC members opted for the election of Dusan Nikolovski, while 54 were for the election of Nikola Popovski.

"Dusan Nikolovski thus became the new LCY Central Committee member from the Macedonian LC.

"The LC organization in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] has for a long time been pointing out that the basic causes of the crisis in our society lie in some failures of a systemic nature which are in a certain way also built into the SFRY Constitution, so that it is not sufficient only to remove the consequences of the crisis but at the same time also its fundamental causes. This is why we are advocating, Vice Admiral Stane Brovet [deputy federal secretary for national defense] said, the acceleration of all activities on the elaboration of a new constitution and are against attempts to—by in fact drawing things out—prevent the necessary changes. We are for wholesale and radical reforms from which will result a society which will be based on a market of democracy, the State's rule of law and modern federalism. Here we start from the basic assumption that this is a matter of reforms and not of the abandonment of socialism. We are, therfore, for a socialist social system only "at the present moment." We are convinced that the vast majority of working people and citizens, and not only LCY members, are of such an orientation.

"We advocate, Brovet added, that the political system be made as simple as possible and as effective as possible in all its parts; this relates, apart from self-management in the economy and in the social sector, in particular to the assembly system, in other words the structure of the authorities and the administration, and the delegates' electoral system.

"The delegate system should not only be reexamined but probably also replaced with a modern representative system, and democratic electoral principles—such as democratic nomination procedure, in other words more candidates, the direct nomination of candidates and secret voting, accompanied by the maintenance of the appropriate role of the sociopolitical organizations, above all the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia—introduced into the electoral system.

"Stressing that the assemblies ought to be the real expression of political, but not also multiparty, pluralism, Brovet said that communists in the YPA do not see any law-based interdependence between the pluralism of ownership relations and a multiparty system. They believe that this thesis has been artificially constructed. There is no proof that in a reformed socialist society, for example, private entrepreneurs would have as a rule to have an antisocialist, nationalist, confederalist or even separatist orientation, which is to be found in the program of some movements and groups which have pretensions of becoming political parties in our country.

"It is, therefore, a matter of a struggle for power, Brovet believes. But a multiparty struggle for power, in the conditions in which our society now finds itself, can certainly not speed up emergence from the crisis, but on the contrary, can only deepen it in a dangerous way. Multiparty organization in society would also impose a revision of the conception of all people's defense, in other words its abolition, and also a complete change in the character and role of the YPA as a people's army and as the armed forcs of all our nations and nationalities. It implies the depoliticization of the armed forces and the formation of a professional paid army which will carry out the orders of each party in power. I personally, Brovet said, am not acquainted with an example "of the depoliticization of the State," recommended to us as our orientation by Comrade Racan in his introductory report. Such advocacy of the depoliticization of the state and the army is also contained in the pamphlet "The Struggle for Power," published by one of our sociopolitical organizations, with the authors being in the main from the alternative scene. As far as I know, both in single-party and multiparty systems, the government and other State organs implement the policy of the Party in power, to which as a rule they themselves belong. Although in some quarters they are called an administration, they are not merely an administration and they are far from being depoliticized. Such a thing could certainly not be the program orientation of the LCY.

"Therefore, Brovet believes, the draft platform should clearly formulate the attitude of the LC on this question. All the unclear things and contradictions which exist in the parts which speak of forms of multiparty political association, and are not compatible with other firm orientations in the platform, should be removed from the text. These are, for example, the federal and socialist social system as lasting bases of the Yugoslav community, the protection of the territorial integrity and constitutional order, and the development of a unified system of all-people's defense, the backbone of which is made up of the YPA etc. It is more than naive to expect that future parties, which have grown up out of some of their embryonic versions now known to us, would respect and follow such orientations. Furthermore, even hitherto they have let it be known quite unambiguously that they are against them.

"The army organization of the LC, Brovet stresses, also supports the standpoint in the draft platform that there should be an elaboration of the possibility of direct voting on the most important sociopolitical questions in a referendum, implying also a general Yugoslav referendum on the SFRY Constitution, in the event that an impasse were to come about in the process of adopting it. I want to stress that the stances expressed do not represent only the orientations of the military leadership and the LC committee in the YPA, but also have the united support of YPA members. This certainly does not mean that communists in the army are not prepared for a critical assessment of them—on the basis of reasoned arguments of course, and not on any a priori disqualification," Brovet concluded.

Military Official Comments on Army's Tasks

LD2010181389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1517 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Rajlovacn October [no date as received] (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav People's Army must steadily advance itself in order to be even readier to safeguard the country's free, unimpeded, independent and peaceful development, Gen Boeidr Stevanovic, envoy of the Air Force and Air Defense commander, stated at a military ceremony here today.

Gen Stevanovic said that the Yugoslav People's Army must be ready to act in emergency conditions and to carry out the tasks placed before it by the Yugoslav State Presidency, as the supreme commander. He set out that the Yugoslav Armed Forces must also be ready politically to engage themselves in society, which he said may be needed at this point.

Gen Stevanovic underscored that the Yugoslav People's Army remained the armed forces of all Yugoslavs and that it was in the front line of the battle for the unity and equality of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities and the country's general interests.

Montenegrin CC Discusses Bucin in Presidency

LD2010034589 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0202 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Text] Titograd, Oct 19 (TANJUG)—Nenad Bucin should remain the legitimate representative of the Republic of Montenegro in the Yugoslav State Presidency, is the conclusion of Montenegrin party Central Committee session held here on Thursday.

By expressing its full support to Bucin, the Montenegrin plenum closed the chapter on a misunderstanding between Bucin and this party forum, it was said.

The dispute arose after discussions in the Montenegrin assembly for reviewing a proposal by the republican youth organization to take a vote of confidence to Bucin and discuss his possible recalling from the State Presidency, and all in connection to his participation at the October joint session of the two former Montenegrin

Presidencies (republican and party), during which Bucin criticized the work of the Montenegrin party leadership.

The majority of participants of today's plenum said in question was a misunderstanding rather than a leadership rift.

Montenegrin party leader Milo Djukanovic concluded that the session yet again confirmed that open democratic dialogue is the only true path for the settlement of all differences and misunderstandings.

Macedonia Unable To Meet FEC Budget Requirement

LD2110220989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 21 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 21 Oct (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Executive Council has informed the Federal Executive Council [FEC] that this republic's economy is not able to ensure the required resources in the way it is envisaged by the changes and amendments to the federal documents that are being prepared. This particularly refers to the establishment of the total of the federation budget's expenditure for this year.

The republican executive council stated today that despite all the remarks sent by the Socialist Republic of Macedonia to the FEC, appropriate solutions have not been proposed during the current rebalancing of the budget. The contribution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia to the federal budget should be adjusted to the increase envisaged by the republican budget. [passage omitted]

Skundric Speaks on Nationalism in Pozarevac

AU2210194889 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Oct 89 p 8

[Z. Simic report: "Secret and Direct Elections Are a Confirmation of the Revival of Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Pozarevac, 13 Oct—At celebrations in the center of Pozarevac in Marshal Tito Street and in the presence of several thousand Pozarevac people, prominent guests from the social and cultural life of the republic of Serbia and the whole of Yugoslavia, and relatives of the Pozarevac educated revolutionaries Radomir, Vojislav, and Grgur Vujovic, a monument was unveiled today portraying these three progressive brothers. [passage omitted]

The monument was unveiled by Petar Skundric, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, saying that this is appropriate for this town with its rich revolutionary past and that in this way the 70 years since the founding of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia or the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the 45 years since the liberation of Pozarevac are being marked in a dignified way. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the current political situation in the country and the republic, Petar Skundric stressed, among other things: "The democratic course and process in the Socialist Republic of Serbia have become irrevocable. The interests of the person, as citizen and producer have reached the center of the whole of social life." [passage omitted]

The demand for more freedom and social justice, for more competition but also solidarity, and for the affirmation of national identity, but also strong democratic integration has strongly come to the fore. The revival of democracy is being affirmed even today in the direct and secret elections that are just beginning for all organs in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The nomination and election of candidates have been surrendered directly to the citizens, without any intermediaries. This allows the most able people to compete and the election of those individuals who the people want and like. The full control of the public and openness in all stages of elections and electoral lists are a guarantee of the democratic character and elements of the expression of the political will of the peoples and nationalities of Serbia, underscored the member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Europe Cannot Be Reached With An Unrestrainable Rise in Inflation

Before the 14th congress and at it, Yugoslavia's Communists must eliminate the main obstacles to intensive development and prosperity, said Skundric. Stability and progress are not possible if divisions, national exclusivity, and the confederalization of Yugoslavia are fomented. Europe cannot be reached with an unrestrainable rise in inflation which not only undermines sociopolitical stability but also the successful implementation of social reform. [passage omitted]

The sensitivity of all our people to separatism and nationalist and other retrograde phenomena is natural and vehement. Not only because these are against the Constitution but also because everyone harbors deep memories of the victims, defeats, and divisions that nationalist evil has brought this country. In a multinational community like ours nationalism has a lethal effect on society as a whole and not only on the community in which it flares up.

No Nationalism Should Be Protected From Criticism

It is clear, stressed Skundric, that nationalism must be destroyed in the places where it arises and with the forces that are available in these places. However, criticism of nationalist outpourings cannot be prevented and such occurrences cannot be tolerated with the claims that the nationalism of each community and each nation is purely their own matter. No nationalism should be protected from criticism from all parts of Yugoslavia because it shakes the country as a whole. The nationalist and separatist escalation and counterrevolution in Kosovo clearly confirm this. Therefore, a united Yugoslav front and united action is essential against all nationalism. Only in this way can the attempts by nationalist and separatist forces to join together within the country, help each other, and act in an organized way against the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and its policy of national equality be prevented.

Working people and citizens throughout Yugoslavia justifiably react to attempts to bring into question the foundations of the Yugoslav federation. Proceeding from the achievements of the revolution, our peoples and nationalities will allow neither the existence of two authorities nor anarchy in Yugoslavia. Despite all its weaknesses, the Constitution has nevertheless envisaged instruments for the successful defense of Yugoslav constitutionality, integrity, and the totality of our community. We do not doubt that all attempts to destroy national equality and the federal structure will be eliminated in this way.

It is, therefore, malicious, continued Skundric, to interpret patriotic calls to defend the foundations of Yugoslavia as an armed threat to any nationality and not to see that terrorist acts in one's own backyard are fed by a persistent campaign against everyone who cherishes Yugoslavia.

It must be clear to us all that the preservation of the unity of the country and the implementation of social reform are only possible with a united League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as the main proponent of democratic and progressive changes. Therefore, we must concentrate all our forces on preparing the extraordinary 14th congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. In this sense, a high degree of consensus has been reached in the preparation of a platform of economic reform and an ideopolitical platform for the activities of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in changes to the political system and the adoption of a new constitution, and I believe that the drafts of these documents will be endorsed at the next session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, said Petar Skundric.

2d Part: Markovic Replies to Viewers' Questions

AU1910112989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 89 p 4

[Second and last report on the written answers by Ante Markovic, president of the FEC, to the unanswered questions asked by the viewers of the Sarajevo television program "Dialogues: Inflation Inflated by Fear"]

[Text] "Personal incomes should not be divided into 'workers' personal incomes' and 'other personal incomes,' but should represent the real value of the actual work results." This was stated by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], in his reply to the question by Simo Lucic from Zepce: What does the president of the FEC think about workers' salaries?

This is only one of the hundreds of questions asked by television viewers which the premier did not manage to answer during Sarajevo's television program "Dialogues" last week. In its issue yesterday, BORBA published some questions and answers. Today, it publishes the answers to the remaining questions that Ante Markovic did not answer during the television program "Dialogues."

Introducing Labor Market

Zdravko Vidakovic from Sanski Most: What can you say about the proposal that we should first settle all of our liabilities and then think about the workers?

Ante Markovic: This is measure that is necessary to establish financial discipline.

A viewer from Kragujevac: How long will we continue the practice of increasing salaries by 30-40 percent per month and widening the gap between those with large and small starting salaries? Is this not absurd?

Ante Markovic: The FEC has already clearly said that it is against the indexation of personal incomes and that they should be established primarily according to the results of work.

Milovan Tosic from Zrenjanin: Is the basis used for calculating personal incomes in August destroying every motive for work?

Ante Markovic: There are some indications that inflation in September was "inflated," and that personal incomes in the past month were unrealistically increased out of "fear" caused by various calls for shock therapy.

Goran Saracevic from Belgrade: When does Comrade Ante Markovic intend to introduce a labor market and valorize the price of labor?

Ante Markovic: The FEC's concept has, in fact, envisaged the introduction of a labor market and the valorization of the price of labor as one of the essential preconditions for the market way of conducting business operations.

Radomir Bacetic from Kriva Reka: Will the federal government freeze salaries, but introduce free prices?

Ante Markovic: No.

Kadija from Sarajevo: What is the likelihood of all Yugoslavs "waiving" their salaries for 1 month, and would this help this situation?

Ante Markovic: I appreciate your good intentions, but nobody should "waive" their salaries. People should take what they have, in fact, earned.

Let Us Get Down To Work and Stop Holding Meetings

Vlada Petrovic from Stari Banovci: Will Ante Markovic ever visit workers engaged in production? He is always having talks with directors.

Ante Markovic: I am in continuous touch with the working people of our country, of course, as much as my duties permit me. I have also visited work organizations. Besides, I spent the greatest part of my working years among the workers.

Anita Gojun from Split: Could politicians stop quarreling and start doing something specific?

Ante Markovic: There is no quarreling in the FEC despite the fact that its members come from all republics and provinces, and we are doing many specific things. As far as others are concerned, you should ask them.

Tomislav Ivanovic from Kragujevac: How long will the workers from Serbia be paying a tax of 0.5 percent to Montenegro? Where is this money?

Ante Markovic: I do not know. Why are you asking me?

Vedran Mihalic from Zagreb: What kind of attitude should one adopt toward those who think that the economy can be run with meetings?

Ante Markovic: I have already said publicly on one occasion that we should all work more, that we should get down to work and not hold meetings because this is not the way to increase productivity and the social product and to create new values.

Kadrus Sulejmani from Pristina: Has anybody, has any institution in our country, tried to work out how much single nationality meetings cost our society? To what extent did these meetings, that is to say work stoppages, contribute to a rise in inflation?

Ante Markovic: I do not know.

Sabahudin Besic: How much do meetings and strikes cost us? Can anything be done to stop these things so that we can get down to work and repay our debts?

Ante Markovic: Neither of these two things are forbidden by the Constitution. I have already answered the second part of your question with my previous answer.

Petar Nenadic from Sarajevo: When will we have a law-governed state? When will the people be accountable for their work?

Ante Markovic: We are doing our utmost to establish a law-governed state. The introduction of a new Law on Labor Relations will increase workers' accountability.

Joze Vauhnik from Maribor: If the free market, which we all strive for, at least in words, really takes off, how will the politicians who assumed power through meetings now tell workers that they are not good, that they are not doing enough, or even that they are fired?

Ante Markovic: Ask those people to whom you are referring.

Conditions for More Efficient Agriculture

Arpad Varga from Belgrade: How can we improve agriculture when it is known that agricultural production in our country is always more expensive than in other countries (because of more advanced technology)? It is always cheaper to import than to produce at home, although this is not a solution. How can this be solved?

Ante Markovic: On two occasions the FEC adopted a number of measures which significantly changed the way agriculture was treated (it was made equal to other branches of the economy) and the way agricultural prices are set. Its material position was also improved. We are currently working on a new development policy for agriculture. The aim of all these moves that we are making is to create the conditions for more efficient and rational use of great potentials that exist in this sphere, for a considerable increase in the production of cheap, healthy, and good quality food. These moves are designed not only to meet the demands of the domestic market, but also to considerably contribute to increasing the export of agricultural products.

Ljubica Djordjevic from Bar: What is the position of agriculture under the new conditions, and what happened to the guaranteed price of wheat?

Ante Markovic: I have already said what we have done and what we are going to do to improve the economic position of agriculture and to create the conditions for its dynamic development.

We have already established the guaranteed price of wheat for 1989.

Milan Damjanovic from Topola near Kragujevac: What do you think about the current position of agriculture and what do you intend to do?

Ante Markovic: Warnings that agriculture is in a difficult position are justified, and this is why, if I may repeat myself. We undertook some measures and plan to undertake others to permanently improve the material position of agriculture and to create conditions for its dynamic development.

A farmer from Osijek: Will the price of agricultural products follow inflation?

Ante Markovic: The prices of agricultural products are set freely. The prices of many agricultural products are going up faster than the average rate of increase in inflation.

Path Is Cleared for Adriatic Highway

Tomislav Svagelj from Zagreb: Is it possible that some "circles" in our country do not have enough understanding for the development of tourism, and which "circles" are these? How should one interpret the rejection of the program for the development of roads along the Adriatic coast, while on the other hand, some of our foreign partners are interested in offering us financial aid?

Ante Markovic: One cannot talk about some kind of rejection of the program for the development of roads along the Adriatic coast. It is correct that some of our foreign partners have offered us financial help. During our recent talks with Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, the Italian side expressed maximum support for the construction of the Adriatic coast highway. We have cleared the road for the use of funds from the so-called memorandum to finance the drafting of a project for the Adriatic coast highway that would run from Trieste to Skopje.

Mijo Knezevic from Djakovo: What does the FEC plan to do with the power generating industry and its monopolistic position, because this industry is one of the generators of inflation? How long will the consumers be paying 15 percent of the cost of building the power generating industry's plants?

Ante Markovic: I have already answered the first question. As regards consumers' participation in the provision of the funds for the development of the power generating industry, this is something that is specific to each republic and province. This participation exist in some republics; in others it does not.

Abramovic from Slavonska Pozega: Why are we still paying the winter rate for electricity? Who is pocketing this money and is there such an exploiting system anywhere else in the world?

Ante Markovic: This strict division into the winter and summer rates for electric power does not exist in other parts of the world. However, other countries have their own systems for higher and lower rates and apply, in principle, the higher rate when the use of electric power is high.

Ratko Dejanovic from Banja Luka: The president of the FEC spoke about a rise in the price of consumer goods. He did not say anything about the price of fuel and electricity.

Ante Markovic: I spoke about the price of energy during the television program and in the SFRY Assembly on 29 September of this year.

Ruzica Curuvija from Vukovar: Will market inspectors carry out checks on the price of electric power?

Ante Markovic: This is up to market inspectors to decide.

Brankovic from Rijeka: Will oil refineries go broke because of the state's current attitudes toward the oil industry? Is this branch of industry in a privileged position?

Ante Markovic: Some people think that the oil industry is in a privileged position. True, oil refineries are in a difficult position at the moment, but this is not only because of the state's attitudes toward them.

Zoran Gabela from Sarajevo: How long will the prices of electricity and oil continue to go up, and to what extent are they responsible for inflation?

Ante Markovic: The price of energy directly and significantly contributes toward increases in the general price level. However, these prices should not be in great disparity with the relative price relations.

Links Between Economic and Social Policies

Dragan Markovic from Krusevac: What is the FEC's view on the social policy? Is there a link between the economic and social policies under the present conditions?

Ante Markovic: The FEC is of the opinion that there is a link between the two. Longer lasting solutions to social problems should be sought in the economic and development policies.

Indira Bunic from Sarajevo: What specific steps have been taken to reduce unemployment? When will qualifications prevail over social cases in finding a job?

Ante Markovic: As you know, a law on labor relations was drafted at the federal level and was recently sent to the SFRY Assembly. This law contains a number of novelties that are in line with the market orientation which we advocate. It stimulates the mobility of labor, it sets out the rights and duties in training and retraining, it introduces the competition of knowledge and ability, and in this sense, reward according the work, it prevents monopoly on jobs, and it conditions the stability of jobs by work results. It also envisages collective agreements at the start of employment. Its adoption has created the prerequisites and opportunities for the work of the labor market. You all, at every work place, in every commune, republic, and province, must make sure that this law is consistently applied.

Vesna Batricevic from Belgrade: What is the position of the health service and medical workers' salaries in relation to the draft program that has been presented?

Ante Markovic: The fate of the personal incomes of medical workers is tied to the fate of the economy of a particular republic or province and the economic policy measures concerning this and other social activities. Taking into account the difficulties and problems in this field, the FEC has decided not to make any additional restrictions on the funds available for health purposes. This is left to the republics and provinces to agree on.

Milan Bjekic from Novi Sad: Why does the FEC not have a minister for culture? Will the import duty on movie tapes be reduced?

Ante Markovic: According to the SFRY Constitution, culture is under the sphere of competence of the republics and provinces. However, regardless of the fact that we do not have a department for culture, the FEC will, within its powers, undertake measures which will contribute to the development of this very important activity. For instance, by a recent decision of the FEC, the import of movie tapes has been exempted from import taxes and duties. The forthcoming changes in custom duties will provide similar concessions. The same FEC decision exempts training and educational organizations, scientific institutions, social organizations, and the associations of artists from paying import duty and taxes on materials and equipment they use.

A group of artists from Skopje: Will cultural workers, like Ljupce Samardzijski, continue to represent Yugoslav culture in the world of diplomacy in the future?

Ante Markovic: I have already given an affirmative answer to this question on 30 May of this year, when I held talks with the representatives of the Section for Culture and Arts of the Federal Conference of Working People of Yugoslavia. There is no reason why cultural workers should not put forward their representatives for our diplomatic-consular activities and missions. You have the right to put forward your candidates for these jobs in an organized way, people who will, with their qualities, enter the competitions for these jobs on equal footing.

I Do Not Receive $1,000

Milena Petrovic from Sarajevo: Is it true that your salary is $1,000 [per month]? Do officials pay running costs (electricity, heating)?

Ante Markovic: This is not correct. Officials pay all costs, both those incurred where they live and those incurred where they work (which means twice).

Development Will Create Jobs

Beco Arifi from Sarajevo: If a large number of workers are made unnecessary, what will happen to those who have been unemployed for 5-10 years?

Ante Markovic: From a statistical point of view, the number of unemployed will increase. However, the closure of work organizations, because they have become insolvent or are being liquidated, and making workers unnecessary for restructuring reasons should not be seen impartially, because during this process there will also be new development which will activate unused reserves in all sectors: There will be development of the small businesses sector and inducements for entrepreneurs, agriculture, and so forth. One should not forget that starting a new cycle of development presupposes new ownership relations and new forms of management, which means that some social enterprises will be transformed into mixed enterprises in which investors will find it worth while to revive production or to undertake joint risks in those enterprises which will be able to continue their business (regardless of possible temporary difficulties). This will reduce unemployment. Therefore, by taking into consideration the criterion of knowledge and ability, the new development should create new jobs for those who are unemployed at present, as well as those who may be made unnecessary as a technological or economic surplus.

I Also Know How To Speak at a Meeting

Milanka Zivkovic from Ilok: Why did Markovic not attend the farmers' rally, and how does he view problems in agriculture?

Ante Markovic: I held direct talks with farmers about problems in agriculture in Novi Sad as far back as 18 May. I presented the main directions of agriculture's development that are in line with the reform of our economy. I particularly stressed, among other things, that the reform will make farmers completely equal with people in the social sector. Novi Sad television extensively reported on that.

May I remind you that I had already answered your question on that occasion. What happened was that one comrade—who was justifiably angry with the long neglect of agriculture and villages and failures to resolve problems in them—said that farmers will hold a meeting. I replied: " You can! If the meeting can solve your problems, let us go together to the meeting. There is no problem. I can speak very well at meetings, but," I pointed out, "we will not solve anything at this meeting! We must get down to work. We must work. We must think. Overcoming this situation requires sweat and not shouting. The government will do its part of the job. If it does not, then it should bear responsibility for that!"

BORBA Outlines Government Economic Measures

AU1910090989 Belgrade BORBA
in Serbo-Croatian 12 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[B. Grbic, B. Marjanac report: "September Is Not Adversely Affecting the Dinar"]

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Oct—What will the Federal Executive Council [FEC] undertake this month and what is it undertaking in the struggle against inflation? This is a very attractive subject which was "offered" to journalists today by the federal government's Secretariat for Information and which occupied several tens of media people, but it unfortunately did not offer them a precise answer to the question: Why was there an enormous rise in retail prices in September of as much as 48 percent? As Darko Marin stressed, the thinking of the FEC tends toward psychological factors and the assumptions that the increase in prices was caused to a great extent by inflationary expectations, constant pressure for the introduction of "shock therapy," and demands for general freezes. In an attempt to cut through these trends in the short term—in a month—the federal government has decided on some additional measures, stressing that this does not involve postponing reform or abandoning the accepted principles, but the necessity of getting out of the inflationary whirlpool as soon as possible.

One of the most interesting measures is definitely the government's stand that the rate of the dinar, interest rates, and other elements of economic policy should be formed on the basis of movements in inflation in the last 3 months and not on the basis of September's increase in prices. According to Marin, we would thus return to those values that have already been stabilized and amounted to 28 percent monthly. Specifically, the value of the dinar will not fall by the notorious 48 percent, but by around 28 percent, and the exchange rate will be lower by about 15 percent of the real rate. If monthly inflation has not returned to the aforementioned level by the end of the month, the government will take additional measures. The FEC is emphasizing that this involves a temporary measure lasting 1 month, which has been forced on the government—even though it is against the use of administrative measures—just as it will continue to conduct a policy of real, positive interest rates and a real rate of exchange and will make up for any delay. This is being done, explained Marin, in order not to discourage export and saving and with the aim of preventing the appearance of new money on the market and the creation of new opportunities for a new rise in prices.

Separating the price of goods from the price of capital is also an important measure whose implementation will be controlled by inspectors who will be in the field until 22 October and who will take care, with the help of departmental republican organs, that programmed inflation is not built into prices.

The constant import of goods should increase competition and prevent monopolistic behavior on the market. Marin hinted that the list of consumer goods would be expanded and around 400 articles would be imported, depending on price relations and the situation on the domestic market. Large quantities of these goods will arrive in October (textile products, leather goods, domestic appliances, and food products). Otherwise, in the first 9 months of this year, 31.7 percent more consumer goods were imported than in the same period last year, which cost us $970 million (with $860 million coming from the hard currency area). The FEC sees the inability of shops to deal with this business as the main reason that there have not been more foreign goods in our store windows.

A restrictive monetary policy is the next condition for bringing down inflation and, as far as the federal government is concerned, there can be no relaxation in this respect.

The FEC thinks, says Darko Marin, that on the basis of the laws that have been adopted so far (on enterprises and labor relations) certain institutions should be set up as soon as possible, such as a money market, a securities market, and such things, so that the new system would be able to operate. Everyone, such as the economic chambers, the trade unions, banks, shops, and others, would have to join in implementing these systemic orientations, as they have not done much in this respect so far. For its part, the federal government would work more quickly in the areas of macro, current, and developmental economic policy.

In today's news conference, the representatives of the FEC paid much attention to Yugoslavia's economic relations with foreign countries. The law on foreign trade which will come into effect on 1 December has "liberated" the import and export of goods and services, harmonized the legal position of all enterprises (social, private, and mixed), surrendered the question of the cadres that will be concerned with these jobs to the enterprises themselves, and, what is particularly important, scrapped all constraints on the foreign trade business. The practice of dumping has been defined in our judiciary for the first time and measures have been established for eliminating the harmful consequences that it would cause for the Yugoslav economy. There is also the new element that the FEC has been given the authority to prevent the import of harmful materials and their transit through the country.

The federal government representatives expressed great satisfaction with the talks outside the conference hall of the Ninth Summit of Nonaligned Countries on expanding economic cooperation and the talks conducted in the last few days with officials of the European Free Trade Association, Canada, and the EEC, and stressed that our country has not been asking for any new loans, but opening doors to capital and offering the establishment of mixed banks, joint corporations, joint private firms, and so on. It was said that Ante Markovic's visit to the United States should also be seen in this light.

Responding to the criticism aimed at the federal government in connection with the change to the system of payment by check, the FEC recalled that the solution that was adopted by the SFRY Assembly completely corresponded to the position of checks in the systems of the market economy in the world and also to our current situation.

The federal government representatives informed the journalists that the FEC pins special significance on the upcoming activities for changing the country's Constitution and that it will actively participate in discussions on this subject.

[The following passages appear boxed within the body of the item]

"Trade Union" Pay

In some estimations, said Marin, personal incomes have recently increased by more than 48 percent (September's inflation). More detailed analyses are being carried out so that it will be seen on this basis whether corrections are necessary in this area ,too, and what kind of corrections would be necessary. However, the view exists that not much can be done in the area of distribution and that the trade union would have to take on a greater role. Collective agreements should be reached as soon as possible—at the latest by the end of next March—and thus resolve in a more permanent way the system of the distribution of personal incomes.

The government is of the opinion that "if the trade union is not in a position" to take on the role concerning the adoption of collective agreements, then "opportunities will arise for the creation of new trade unions." This is because, in the implementation of reform, the trade union must become "strong, free, capable, and expert," and as such enjoy people's trust and become a good partner in resolving economic and social issues. This role for the trade union particularly arises in an acute form after the adoption of the law on the basic labor relations rights.

Foreign Currency Equality

The government will continue to motivate exports but it will also open the door for imports which will be "regionally directed." We will import goods from India, Turkey, Egypt, Thailand, Singapore, Greece, Korea, and other countries with which Yugoslavia has already been creating a surplus for several years, stressed Marin. Instead of our people going to these countries for shopping, we will bring the goods to Yugoslavia. I am stressing quality goods which are well known in the world and sold at relatively favorable prices which will be considerably lower than the prices of some of our producers.

The FEC is also hinting that there will be an increased sale of foreign and domestic goods for foreign currency in duty free shops for all Yugoslavs, which means that this also includes those who are not temporarily working abroad. They will be able to buy, among other things, new foreign cars with reduced customs duty.

The federal government representative explained that even citizens who have not set up enterprises for carrying out their private activities can freely import the necessary means for work, parts, and reproduction materials.

Anonymous Ownership

The law on enterprises has opened up the process of establishing mixed forms of ownership. This also creates a barrier to any enterprise being set up on the basis of anonymous social ownership. That is to say, enterprises can be set up only on the basis of social capital, which means that the investor must always be known.

Announcing the new property law (which should now enter the assembly procedure), Darko Marin stressed that "limits to private ownership of business premises and housing areas" will be scrapped. This will facilitate the acquisition of rights to real estate by foreigners, which had so far been the "bottleneck" in the application of the law on foreign investment.

The law on property legal relations will also have to contain solutions concerning the real owner of "anonymous social property," because now, among other things, it is a big question of who will receive the finances that will be given by a foreigner or one of our citizens in the purchase of a social enterprise.

Presidency Calls for Action Against Inflation

LD1910231689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1644 GMT 19 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The unfavorable tendencies in economic trends, particularly inflation, are posing a threat to the process of socioeconomic reform which is under way and are seriously increasing the dissatisfaction of working people and citizens. This was the assessment of the SFRY Presidency, presided over by President Janez Drnovsek, at its session last night with the president, vice president and a number of member of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] on the current socioeconomic situation in the country.

In this connection, it was noted that it is esential to energetically and effectively deal with inflation. To this end, it is reported from the session, in conjunction with the more rapid completion of work on constructing a new economic system, it is necessary to propose, adopt, and implement complex measures of economic and development policy which will make it possible to curb inflation in the shortest possible time and to begin the process of bringing it under control.

President of the FEC, Ante Markovic, informed the SFRY Presidency of the Council's assessment that the measures adopted and those which are progressing through the SFRY Assembly will ensure the curbing of inflation by the end of this year. The FEC president also informed the SFRY Presidency that the economic policy measures for 1990 will be markedly anti-inflationary and that all this together will ensure a significant reduction in inflation in the coming year.

The SFRY Presidency considers the struggle against inflation to be the prime economic, social, and political task which requires united action by everyone in the country, and presupposes the successful conclusion of the negotiations with international financial organizations and other factors with the aim of securing essential financial support, says the statement from the SFRY Presidency session.

Assembly's Republics, Provinces Chamber Meets

'Asked' FEC to Complete Program

AU1910124289 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Oct 89 pp 1, 5

[Mirjana Aksentijevic, Aleksandra Mijalkovic, and Dragan Bujosevic report: "The FEC Asked To Come Up With An Anti-Inflation Program As Soon As Possible"]

[Excerpts] The conclusions that were unanimously adopted by the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly following the discussion on inflation demand that the laws and regulations needed for the reform of the economic system be adopted as soon as possible in order to create the necessary prerequisites for overcoming present difficulties, to enable the functioning of the market economy, and to create a suitable economic policy. "All the adopted measures should be carried out at all levels." [sentence as published]

The Federal Executive Council [FEC] was asked to propose the "final part of the program for bringing down inflation" as soon as possible, or at the latest by the time of the approval of the economic policy for next year. "The realization of this program requires a social consensus," the conclusions state.

All internal deficits should be examined as soon as possible, and ways of preventing them from arising in the future should be found. The FEC in particular should work out how to solve deficits and doubtful debts in the undeveloped parts of the country. Solutions to the deficits incurred by the federation and the National Bank of Yugoslavia must also be found by the end of this year.

Before the adoption of the conclusions, only a handful of delegates asked to speak.

Aleksandar Mitrovic replied to a question by delegate Milibor Jovanovic on September inflation and its influence on the government's further plans. Mitrovic said that the federal government had expected retail prices in September to rise by 38 to 44 percent. The fact that they rose by a few more percentage points was not the result of the real trends in the market, but of psychological factors—the rise of 48 percent contains all possible inflationary expectations and indexation for several months ahead. [passage omitted]

Laws on Foreign Currency and Prices Postponed

Many points were taken off the agenda of the session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces.

Certainly, the most important point that was taken off the agenda was the Law on Foreign Currency. It appears that the main problem comprises clearing account payments.

Bargaining over the Law on Prices continues. Serbia no longer has any reservations because its demand that the price of oil be set in the same way as the price of electricity, on the basis of joint criteria, has been met. However, Croatia is against this. Slovenia did not agree with the views that the federation should draw up a list of articles that are of importance for the standard of living. It also opposed the view that airport taxes should be in the hands of the federation. [passage omitted]

Delegates' Questions

A delegate from the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Joze Globacnik, yesterday launched an initiative whose results he will probably not see as a member of the Constitutional Commission of the SFRY Assembly, because as soon as he finished his speech he asked to be relieved of his membership in this assembly body. He again mentioned the statement he made at the session of the Constitutional Commission (26 September) when he said that he had decided to resign "because of all the pressures made in the past, and the pressures he is still expecting, on the Socialist Republic of Slovenia not to adopt amendments to its Constitution..." and because of his disagreement with the methods used "to close the mouth of the people of one republic and prevent them from deciding on their own fate...." [passage omitted]

Dissatisfied with the answers to her numerous additional questions, Jelena Miljkovic (Socialist Republic of Serbia) yesterday said that she did not want to know anything about the contents of some documents (several hundred kilograms of heavy documents on inviting international tenders concerning a type of nuclear power station that would be build in our country). [passage omitted]

Markovic on Delay in Laws

AU2010173789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The laws that are already going through the assembly procedure should be coordinated as soon as possible; any delay will mean that parts will be overlooked and there will be an inefficient system next year when inflation should begin to be curbed. This was said by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, in talks with the president of the SFRY Assembly and the presidents of the republican and provincial assemblies. It was said at the session that it is the task of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces to adopt all the laws that have so far been presented to the Assembly by 9 November. Here is a report from the session by Olivija Rusovac and Milorad Jovic:

There has been delay in the SFRY Assembly in coordinating some important systemic laws, and time is not on our side, said Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly. The presidents of the republican and provincial assemblies agreed with this and presented the well-known views which preclude consensus, but also put forward the belief that these will not be an obstacle to reaching agreement.

Mentioning that the laws on the taxation system, foreign currency operations, and prices have not been coordinated, Ante Markovic said that every delay makes us incapable of being ready to start the new year.

[Begin Markovic recording] Our analyses are now showing that deficits in the banking sector amount to several billion dollars. Without making up these deficits or liquidating those deficits that cannot be made up, there is no chance of us struggling for a real rate of interest which would be within the framework of those interest rates that [words indistinct] of a market economy. We are now facing a situation in which we will seek, within the framework of the policy prepared for next year, as the most important prerequisite for the struggle against inflation, the maintenance [alimentiranje; word as heard]—first the identification and then the maintenance [alimentiranje: word as heard]—of all deficits in our society from various sources, regardless of whether they are domestic or foreign.

Believe me that when we put this on the agenda, this will not be the confirmation to politicize the question of inflation and to show who is a real fighter for [word indistinct]. However, do believe then, that there is no way out of the inflationary trends within which we are caught without bloody waters. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that a solution cannot be sought by continuing to print money. [end recording]

Markovic mentioned that the further we get into the reform, the more limits there will be of an ideopolitical character and that our political discussions often benumb the battle for reform. If only one person is proclaimed to be responsible for the failures, this means a pardon is sought for the others who are not capable of reform, concluded Markovic, stressing that the Federal Executive Council is not avoiding its share of the responsibility. [passage omitted]

Inflation Measures Debated

LD2010225489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 20 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—We see the most essential condition for the struggle against inflation in the identification and feeding of all the deficits in our society—from real funds, regardless of whether they are domestic or foreign. This is why we aim toward rebalancing the federal budget, which means a transition from inflationary to real financing. This is a matter of a proposal that the Yugoslav National Bank "be cleared" of everything not belonging to it, that this be taken over by the federal budget, and that it be financed out of real reserves, not by printing money. A halt must be called to the further printing of money.

This was stressed by Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic in the SFRY Assembly, in talks which Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the Yugoslav Assembly, held with representatives of the republican assemblies. On the agenda were problems concerning the harmonization of many legal drafts and other acts which are going through the Assembly but which have not yet obtained "a visa" from the republics and provinces.

This is a reference to more than 15 documents, including several systemic laws and measures of current economic policy, without which there is no rounding off of the new economic conception of the federal government, upon which it has been insisting from the beginning of its mandate as a condition for beginning the elimination on lasting bases of inflation and for movement toward reform of the industrial and economic system. [passage omitted]

Ante Markovic stressed in connection with the newly proposed rebalancing of the federal budget that the federal government could even now reduce the federal budget by 29 trillion dinars, if it were to be fed in the way it has been until now. However, we aim to interrupt the dubious accounts at the level of the federation and expect others to do likewise. [passage omitted]

Every procrastination in adopting these documents, Slobodan Gligorijevic, president of the SFRY Assembly, stressed, only removes us further from our goal of developing an effective economic system. FEC President Ante Markovic also drew particular attention to this, saying that Yugoslavia cannot enter next year with the same economic policy. And in order to generate the bases for "a new economic position," it is vital to adopt as soon as possible all these laws and measures which have already been delayed.

Markovic Speaks on Need for Fundamental Changes

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[Excerpt of speech by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, at the opening of the Faculty of Electrical Engineering in Zagreb University on 19 October—recorded]

[Text] After many years of crisis, years in which we were incapable of finding solutions among, the contradictions of the modern development of our society, finally we are able to realize that it is no longer enough just to put finishing touches to the present system, but that we must change the system fundamentaly. We are currently in the phase of, not reconstruction, but development of an entirely new economic, social, and even political system. Each crisis brings to the surface those who are capable of solving it. I could say that in everything we have done so far, we have created the preconditions for a critical basis to start creating a new system, primarily the economic one, which should solve contradictions of our development with much greater efficiency and with the help of political democracy.

The basic task which we must begin in the next few years, and the next year is the year when we must carry out a decisive battle which should show whether conditions and a critical basis, all factors—economic, organizational and general ones on the world-scale, and our domestic and human factors—whether that critical basis is ripe so that the next year witnesses a decisive breakthrough, so that new institutions, new infrastructure, and new mechanisms of economic system can start functioning and operating in a process of development built on the market economy, while at the same time, we should transfer from inflationary to real-value financing. [sentence as received]

The second thing we must do is to open a new cycle of development in the same period, which is necessary for us, not just to overcome the current problems, but also to be able to overcome burdens from the past, bad debts and past deficits and to open a space for a new, healthy development, in which this country and its system have opportunities to become one of the most prosperous countries in the world.

Thirdly, we must open space for development of political democracy and personal liberties, their right to decide about their lives, and development of a law-governed state which would protect their rights. The need for such a state cannot be questioned.